GUIDE TO THE AE3 SINO-TIBETAN BORDER FILE

[The AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border file is composed of a melange of cultural data on a number of relatively scattered non-Han tribal groups occupying generally the border region of western China (western and northwestern Yunnan, northwestern and southwestern Szechwan) and Tibet, with one group, the Mewu Fantzu, located on both sides of the Kansu-Ch'inghai border some 200 miles southeast of Koko Nor. The file focuses principally on five of these Border Peoples, the Min Chia, the Ch'iang, the Lu-tzu (Lisu), the Moso (Nakhi) and the Mewu-Fantzu. The Min Chia are located in western Yunnan between 25° 30' and 26° 40' N. and 99° 10' and 100° 20' E., north of the Burma Road, between the Mekong and Yangtze Rivers. The Ch'iang live in the region around the T'o and Min Rivers in northwest Szechwan. The Lu-tzu (Lisu) are found in western Yunnan, between 28° and 28° N., bounded on the east by the Salween-Mekong watershed and on the west by the Nmai Hka people. The Moso (Nakhi) occupy the region located in northwestern Yunnan between 26° to 29° N. and from 98° 30' to 102° E., on the west as far as the Mekong, north to the Tibetan border, and east into southwestern Szechwan. The location of the Mewu Fantzu is as noted above. Other groups of the Sino-Tibetan border peoples discussed briefly or noted in passing in the file are the Gia-rung, the Black River People, the Fan, the Ch'iu-tzu, Aka, Wa Ssu, Heh Shui, Iuh Hua, Gia-rung-Ch'iang, and Po-lo-tsu. Agriculture, herding, hunting and gathering, in that order, form the basic subsistence pattern for the Sino-Tibetan border peoples. Languages of the Tibeto-Burman family are spoken by most of the groups in the file sample, with bilingualism common, especially with regard to Chinese. Because of their geographical locations all of the Sino-Tibetan border peoples are subject in varying degrees to acculturative influences from Tibet and China, this is especially to be noted with reference to religion (e.g., ancestory worship) and political and social structure.

Of the seven sources making up this file unit, four are in English (sources 1, 3, 4, and 5), two are translations from Chinese (sources 2 and 7), and one from the German (6: Stübel). There is no single source in the file that would give an over-view of the Sino-Tibetan border people as a whole, but 4: Liu does give some limited ethnographic information on the Ch'iang, Gia-rung, Fan and Black River People. In 1: Fitzgerald, written by a well-known Sinologist with considerable anthropological training, we have a thorough study of the economy, religion, social structure, value system and environment of the Min Chia people of Yunnan. 2: T'ao Yün-K'uei is a collection of creation stories obtained by the author, an ethnologist, from members of the Moso, Lisu, Ch'iutzu and Aka groups of Yunnan. 3: Torrance, also written by an ethnologist, is an attempt to show the common origin of the Ch'iang and the Hebrews through a comparison of their monotheism and other aspects of their religion. As noted above in 4: Liu, written by a geographer, outside of the limited ethnographic data it contains, this source also tries to show how the geographic environment affects the social organization of the Sino-Tibetan border peoples. 5: Graham presents some general ethnographic observations made by the author, an ethnologist, on the Ch'iang people during his contact with them in 1933 and again in 1941. 6: Stübel is a general ethnographic study of the Mewu Fantzu of Ch'inghai province, with special emphasis on religion. The author is an ethnologist. 7: Hu Chienmin, written also by an ethnologist, seeks to analyze Ch'iang religion in terms of classical anthropological usage. Elements of the religion which are clearly acculturative are contrasted with aboriginal beliefs. Sources 1: Fitzgerald, 5: Graham, 6: Stübel and 7: Hu Chien-min are all rated as "5", or containing excellent primary data. Sources 2: T'ao Yün-k'wei, 3: Torrance and 4: Liu are rated as "4" or containing excellent secondary data. This file was originally called Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples. The word "peoples" was dropped during the processing of the file. As a result sources 1 to 6 have "Peoples" in the OWC code. Source 7 does not. All sources were processed in 1955-1956.]

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101 IDENTIFICATION--name of the society or cultural group; alternative names bestowed by selves and others; meanings of names; location of group with reference to comparable and larger groups; names given by selves to other groups; affiliation with a culture area or subarea; period as of which the culture is described, and its relationship to other time periods; local and temporal subdivisions employed in the classification of data; specification of date and locale of field study; etc. See also:

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175 563 Chinese tribes on the high plateau of Yunnan are found in the hills, while the valleys and plateaux are in the hands of Chinese settlers or absorbed peoples now Chinese in language and custom.[1] It is safe to assume that when the Mongol emperors and their successors, the Chinese Mings, conquered Nan Chao they found the rice lands of the Ta Li plain already fully exploited by an industrious and skilled race of farmers, whom it was more profitable to tax than to expropriate.

101 563 They therefore called them the "Min Chia", the "plebeians", the "common people", a term less of contempt than to distinguish the indigenous population with its strange language from the Chinese officials, soldiers and merchants who settled in Ta Li city, and before long intermarried with the people of the soil. The name Min Chia is thus Chinese, and not that used by the people themselves when speaking their own language. They call themselves, according to district, by several names generically related. Those of the Ta Li plain use mostly the term "Shua Bër Ni" meaning "speakers of the white (language)",[2] elsewhere Bër Dser, "White People", or in the western district of

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[1] The exceptions to this rule are the Na Khi or Mo So of the Li Chiang district, and the Shans of the Burma border region. In the first case, the Li Chiang area on the northern border of Yunnan is the most remote of the lake plateaux from Chinese influence. It was also the seat of a powerful local kingdom, and it seems probable therefore that Chinese rule there was not strong enough to oust a people of fairly high culture. The Shans occupy the low plateaux west of the Salween, a country which the Chinese find very unhealthy and in which they are unwilling to settle. It is noteworthy that where the plateaux are higher, as at Teng Yueh, once a Shan state, the Chinese have taken possession.

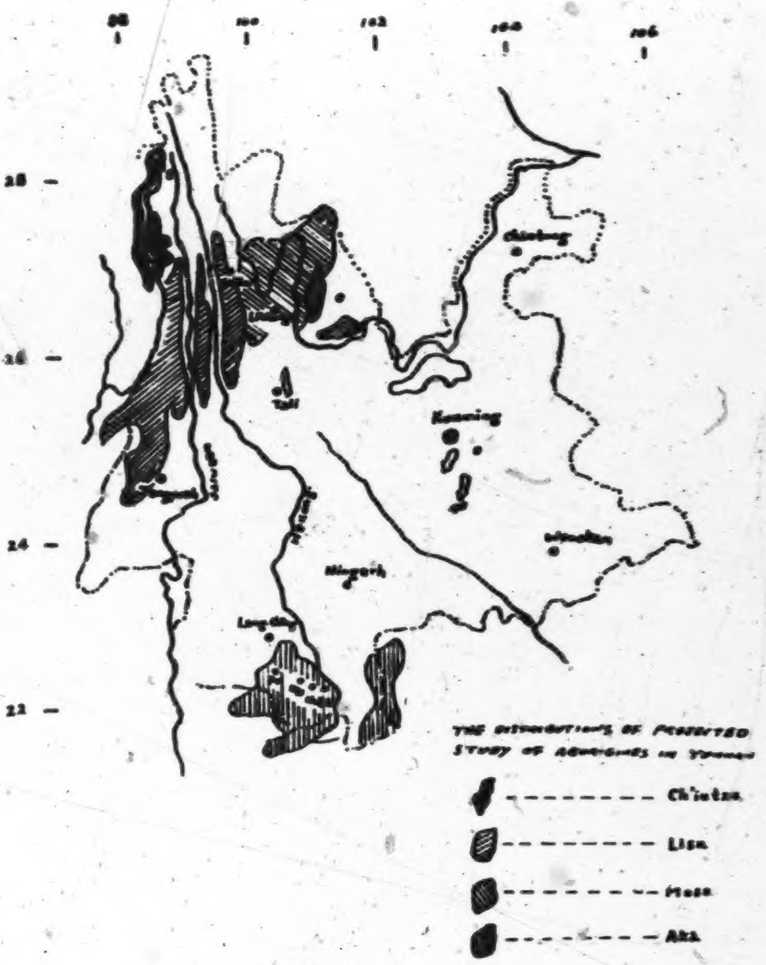
[2] In Min Chia "white" *Ber*, does not have the meaning "plain" "intelligible" that the Chinese *Pai* carries. Therefore *Shua Ber Ni* does not mean "plain speakers" as opposed to unintelligible speech, as the Chinese *Pai Hua*, literally "white language", does mean.

Yun Lung, "Bër Wa Dser," probably the oldest term, 101
meaning "People of the White King". None of these 563
names refer to the colour of the skin, for the Min Chia, like the Chinese, are unacquainted with the use of "white" as a descriptive term for one of the races of mankind. To them people of all the races of eastern Asia and of Europe are the same in colour, only Indians (and presumably Negroes if they were ever to see one) being described as "black men". This attitude is not incorrect. Among the light skinned mountain peoples of western China it is not the colour of the skin, but the black hair and Mongolian features of the face which differentiate them from Europeans.

The origin of the use of the term "white" in connection with the Min Chia is not known to the people themselves. Some suggest that it is in fact derived from that mysterious ruler, the "White King", concerning whom there are certain legends. The name, like the current Chinese term for the Shans, "Pai I" meaning "white clothes" may have referred to an earlier fashion for dressing in white. The Min [291]
Chia do not now do so, but nor for that matter do the Shans either. In common parlance the imprecision of these names does not matter, for it is not so much race as language which is present as the differentiating factor in the minds of the people—does a man "Speak White" i.e. Min Chia, or "Speak Han" i.e. Chinese. The situation is the exact converse of that found, in say, Wales. Whether a man speaks Welsh or not he is "Welsh", if born of stock long resident in Wales. In Ta Li if a man speaks Min Chia, he is Min Chia, if he does not, he is "Chinese"—even though his mother is well known to be Min Chia both by descent and by language.

The fact, so rare and refreshing to-day as to be almost 563
disturbing to the European, is that here the nationality com- 554
plex does not exist. People of widely sundered racial origin 829
are not only not differentiated on this basis, but are barely

MAP OF ABORIGINES DISTRIBUTIONS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Tali
Kunming
Ningerh
THE DISTRIBUTIONS OF PROJECTED STUDY OF ABORIGINES IN YUNNAN
Ch'ietzu
Lisu
Moso
Aka

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

All the slopes that are below an altitude of 6,000 ft. belong to the arid 241 zone, where cultivation without irrigation is difficult. Most of these slopes are barren or covered by only a thin mantle of scrub. 132 At an altitude between 6,000 and 8,000 ft. is the semi-arid zone, where agriculture could be carried on 133 // without irrigation, but the situation is usually precarious. Unfortunately, most 433 of the cultivable lands are situated in this zone. The dominating crops between 6,000 and 7,000 ft. are corn, beans, and wheat; and those grown between 7,000 and 8,000 ft. are mostly barley, oats, buckwheat, and potatoes.

From an altitude between 8,000 to over 9,000 ft. is the wet zone, and this is the forest zone. Above the forest zone is the sub-humid zone, and this is the grass land area where the high degree of wetness and the shortness of the growing season limit agriculture and favor the grazing of cattle. This is also the homeland of a great variety of medicinal herbs.

The limitations of relief and climate have in their turn affected the nature 134 of the soil. Soil on the upper slopes, where agriculture is carried on, is subject to severe erosion; while soil on the valley bottoms is liable to be washed away 241 by streams. Therefore, the most spectacular feature of the soil is that of instability. 433 There is hardly any well-developed mature soil to be found anywhere. In the grasslands, the soil is better developed, but the temperature limits its utilization.

This is only a brief summary of the setting of the stage upon which a group of tribes people are carrying on their drama of life. Now, we will proceed to examine the tribes who are staged there.

B. THE TRIBES OF LI-FAN COUNTY

The total population of Li-fan county is about 80,000, which is about one-fourth 563 the population of Chengtu. Of course there is no accurate census to tell the truth. This is only a rough estimate from the figures given by the Szechwan 101 ● Commission of Education. Out of the total population, about one-eighth are Chinese and seven-eighths are tribes people. 162 They are the Ch'iang 羌, the Gia-rung 嘉戎, the Fan 番, and the Black River peoples. They are all of Tibetan descent, with a combined or fused Tibetan-Chinese culture at different stages of development.

The Ch'iang people used to occupy a much larger area than they do now. Archaeological finds indicate that they had spread as far north as Kansu before the Han dynasty. During the Ming dynasty, because they made trouble, the Tibetans were called in to conquer them, and finally there were cornered into a smaller and smaller area between the Chinese on the plains, and the Tibetans in the mountains. At present the Ch'iang people are on the verge of disappearing, and their culture is already half-forgotten. The Gia-rung people are the Tibetan conquerors who have taken to agriculture, and the Fan are the Tibetans who have come to stay in the grasslands and are still leading a nomadic type of life. The Black River people are a mixed people of Fan, Gia-rung and Ch'iang. They are half agricultural, but still rely on their cattle for much of their living.

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

Ch'iang

133 cities and towns along the rivers are inhabited by Chinese. Some of the Ch'iang live in villages or farms in the valleys, but most of them live on farms or in fortified villages called Chai Tzu in the higher altitudes. There are extensive loess deposits that are so deep that they have been terraced and made into good farm lands.

137 Where the Ch'iang live most of the lower altitudes have few tree and little underbrush, a condition that is probably due to woodgatherers and much pasturing of sheep and goats. Higher up, above the homes and villages, are forests which are the source of
132 firewood and lumber. The climate in the lower altitudes is dryer than in the central part of Szechwan, where there is comparatively heavy rainfall. Occasional droughts and semi-droughts occur. The rainfall is heavier in the higher altitudes where the forests have not been exterminated.

● 101 Northwest of them are the Luh Hua and the Heh Shui, two
136 powerful tribes that, according to some reports, have never been conquered. Southwest of them are the Jia Rung. East of them are the Wa Ssu who helped the Chinese defeat the Ch'iang under Ch'ien-lung. In the high mountains are leopards, bears, and wild boars, and poisonous snakes are sometimes found in the fields and in the forests.

3. The People.

142 The Ch'iang are yellow or brown in color, differing so little from the Chinese that when they are dressed in Chinese clothing it is difficult to distinguish them from the Chinese people. The average height of the men is about 164 or 165 centimeters, the average cephalic index about eighty, the eyes are dark brown, the hair dark brown or black and generally straight, the nose is a trifle narrower than that of the Chinese, and the epicanthic fold is often lacking. There are probably no more convex or "Roman" noses among them than among other eastern Asiatic races. It is thought that they are a branch of the Burma-Tibetan race.

165 The Ch'iang are a hardy people. Both men and women are strong and industrious. The death rate, however, is very high, due to an unbalanced diet, meagre knowledge of hygiene, and the absence of trained physicians and good medicine. The writer took the records of about forty families, and found the death-rate to be six hundred and twenty-six per thousand. It is probable that some deaths that occurred within a short time after birth were not reported.

/9/ Introduction

114 In June, 1937, this writer went to northwestern Szechuan to study frontier tribes and, owing to my guide's familiarity with the local situation, visited all the principal Ch'iang areas in the three districts of Wen-ch'uan, Mao-hsien, and Li-fan. We went through numerous narrow passages and experienced many difficulties and •101 dangers. While in Wen-ch'uan, it happened that Magistrate Lin Chien-chao was making a new map of the district, and following the directions in his new map, we visited all Ch'iang outposts on the right bank of the Min River. We also went to the territory of the Wa-shih chieftain on the left bank of the river. In Mao-hsien, we went east across the T'u-ti Range to T'u-men and then moved north to the Wei-men-kuan watercourse, visiting all the outposts in that area. Then along the western bank of the Min River, we proceeded northward to Liang-ho-k'ou and thence turned into the valley of the Hei-shui River to survey the district of San-ch'i-ao. We returned to Wei-chou and entered the area of Li-fan, visiting villages along both sides of the Tsa-ku-nao River up to P'u-ch'i-kou on the border of the Ch'iang and the Jung territories. We had planned to choose Hsing-shang-chai in Li-fan and Lo-pu-chai in Wen-ch'uan as areas of intensive study. However, first because of the Lu-kou-ch'iao Incident and then because of the intensification of the situation in Shanghai, we were compelled to give up our plan and return home. Thus, our work fell short of complete success, a fact which we still regret. The material we have collected can be divided into several chapters dealing with geographical distribution, material life, social system, and beliefs and practices. On account of the limitation of time, we can, after a brief preparation, present to ethnographers only the part dealing with beliefs and practices in the hope of receiving instructive criticism from them.

177 527 Generally speaking, the material life and the social system are the more Sinicized aspects of the Ch'iang culture. (Because of their nearness to each other, some Ch'iang tribesmen were also influenced by the Fan and the Chia-jung tribes.) As to their spiritual culture, although they have lost or forgot part of it, yet in some remote areas, we can still find a general picture of it. During the New Year, on festival days, and at the time of wedding, funeral, and other ceremonies, all the cultural treasures of the Ch'iang -- such as sorcery, rites, historical legends, tribal mythology, songs and dances, -- are still enthusiastically performed again and again, often under the

131 For four or five months of the year, Bahang and the Salween valley are absolutely isolated from the rest of the world on account of the snowed-in passes; Swiss Catholic monks from the monastery of St. Bernard in Switzerland have lately crossed the Si La to the Salween in the height of winter.[45] To the north of Bahang are hostile Tibetans, and to the south savage Black Li-su, thus there is no outlet save over the Mekong—Salween divide.

197 212 The Lu-tzu 潞子 have no written language, while the spoken language itself is exceedingly primitive. They call themselves Nu and A-nu[46] (PLATE 188).

[181] 262 273 The Lu-tzu or Nu-tzu are a calm and amicable people; they are poor and their staple food is maize; they brew a sort of beer and also distil a liquor. They drink a great deal, but otherwise their wants are few; a laborer does not earn more than five cents silver a day, and two dollars silver represents riches.

The *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 201, p. 8b, states the following about them:

● 101 "Their name Nu-tzu 怒子 is derived from the fact that they inhabit the Nu-chiang tien 怒江甸. During the reign of Yung-lo of the Ming dynasty (1403–1424), Nu-chiang tien was altered to Lu-chiang Chang-kuan-ssu 潞江長官司; the tribe lived outside the borders of Wei-hsi, more than 10 days beyond the Nu Chiang, encircling the river.

"In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) they returned to allegiance and became part of Li-chiang and Ho-ch'ing; they obeyed the native transferable officials of the two magistracies who administered the affairs of the Nu-tzu in addition to their own. They are cruel and savage; they use cross-bows

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[45] The monks after waiting one and a half years, finally received permission from the Yünnan Government to build a hospice on the Col of La-tsa 喇咱 in Tibetan La-rtsa. The pass is named after a small village on the eastern bank of the Salween, and is on the Mekong-Salween divide north-west of Wei-hsi; it is only a short distance to the north of the spot where the German travelers, Dr. Brunhuber and Schmitz, were assassinated by Black Li-su on January 5th, 1909.

[46] The *Yün-nan Pei-cheng-chih* states in Vol. 18, fol. 12, that "they inhabit the Salween and their territory connects with K'ang-p'u, Yeh-chih, and A-tun-tzu. The adjoining southern land is Lo-mai-chi 羅麥集 and borders on Mien-tien [Burma]. They are commonly called wild tribes (Yeh-i 野夷). They wear hemp cloth garments, the men wear trousers and the women skirts, and no shoes. The roofs of their houses are made of bamboo and the walls of braided bamboo. They grow wheat and panicled millet, coarse vegetables, yam, and taro; they eat the flesh of wild animals and use no salt [*Note*: — The latter is merely a Chinese idea, although salt is scarce]. They have neither horses nor mules. Among them are no thieves and objects can be left on the road. They hunt the tiger and leopard. They make bamboo utensils, and weave red designs into their hemp cloth. The Mo-so tribespeople come over 1,000 li to sell objects among them. They are of a timid nature. Their roads are bad and their life full of hardships. The Li-su prey on them and they are unable to retaliate or protect themselves from their attacks. In the eighth year of Yung-cheng (1730) an official was established at Wei-hsi, and when the Lu-tzu heard this, they came in procession to the K'ang-p'u 康普 border and paid tribute with 80 catties of yellow beeswax, 15 lengths [one length is 10 Chinese feet] of hemp cloth, 10 skins of serow [*Capricornis*], and 20 deerskins, and thus made their submission. The tribute-paying was thus established in perpetuity. In return they were given rock salt and the officials were requested not to intimidate or insult them. They were encouraged to sell the Huang-lien 黃連 [the rhizome of a species of *Coptis*] and they took back much salt which they sold, and thus commerce was established among them. They are quick-tempered and quick to kill."

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

S *489 strange to say, it occurs here, in Burma, and on the island of Formosa, but nowhere else.

*133 *137 The main peak of Ke-nyi-chum-po is a blackish rock, probably porphyry which rests on limestone, and rises from about the center of the mountain pass, with a rampart-like crest extending from its northern flank, sheltering the glacier. To the south-east the rocks are cut into steps and grooves, the result of former glaciation, for the main glacier is now retreating. The spur from which the panorama is described, adjoins a high, forested mountain, the sides of which, facing the gorge, are cleft into deep, narrow canyons with rock pinnacles extending along their sides. In the distance to the north-east a snow-covered range is visible, while towards the south lies the beautiful Salween—Mekong divide with its southern peak, the Nam-la-shu-ga, about 16,000 feet in height.

A trail leads on the northern valley slopes of Si-ki-t'ong, below the glacier to the summit ridge and thence over the Gom-pa La and several other passes to the Ch'iu Chiang 浗江, or 球江, the Trun (spelled erroneously Taron on foreign maps) of the Ch'iu-tzu 俅子. At the foot of the Gom-pa La is a large lake in a wilderness of rock; altitude approximately 14,000 feet. The Trun is the easternmost branch of the Nmai Hka, transcribed En-mei-k'ai Chiang 恩梅開江, itself the eastern branch of the Irrawadi which at Tu-lung 獨龍 flows at an elevation of 5,400 feet, there a rope-bridge spans it; it is the Du-dum of the Lu-tzu. This region is inhabited by Ch'iu-tzu, a tribe related to the Nu or Nu-tzu of the Salween.

Shang-p'a. — Below Tu-lung the Ch'iu Chiang is called Tu-lung Ho by the Chinese, and its eastern affluent, the Meh Hka the Lung-ku Ho 龍骨河 or Dragon bone River. Two terrible trails lead to P'u-t'ao 普討 (Fort Hertz) in Upper Burma, one from Lyu-ra-gang (the Yuragan of the maps) south of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung, and another trail via Si-ki-t'ong and the Gom-pa La to the north of Ch'ang-p'u-t'ung.

The main or western branch of the Irrawadi, called Nam-ch'iu or Mali Hka, transcribed Ma-li-k'ai 麻里開 and Mai-li-k'ai Chiang 邁立開江, is not the Ch'iu Chiang of the Chinese but is called the I-lo-wa-ti Chiang 伊洛瓦底江, a transcription of the word Irrawadi.

Shang-p'a 上帕, or 上怕, the seat of a magistrate, whence the Li-su-inhabited part of the Salween is supposed to be governed, is situated at about the height of Li-chiang, on the eastern (left) bank of the Salween. A trail leads from Lan-p'ing 蘭坪 via La-chi-ming 喇雞鳴 salt-wells and Tien-shang 甸上 to Ying-p'an-kai 營盤街 on the Mekong, thence to So-lo 梭羅 via Chi-wei 吉尾; from So-lo one trail leads west to Chih-tzu-lo 知子羅 via the So-lo La and another north to Shang-p'a on the Salween. To the south of Shang-p'a is the hamlet of O-ma-ti 俄馬底.

The mountain range to the east of Shang-p'a is called the Nu Shan 怒山 (Shan-mo 山脈).

ST 101 *The Ch'iu-tzu tribe.* — The Ch'iu-tzu (PLATE 197), according to the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 202, p. 19b, "dwell beyond the great snow range of the Mekong. They belong to the wild tribes of the western region of Ho-ch'ing

and Li-chiang.

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CHAPTER II

THE EIGHT MO-SO CHIEFTAINCIES IN SOUTH-WEST SSU-CH'UAN

The Wu-so. — There are in all eight native chieftains belonging to the Na-khi or Mo-so tribe whose territory is situated in south-west Ssu-ch'uan and who formerly were part of Yün-nan under the rule of the Yung-ning chiefs. Those adjoining the Yün-nan provincial boundary on the east, that is, the native prefecture of Yung-ning, beginning from the north are: the Ch'ien-so 前所 T'u-ssu (Front *So*) and the Tso-so 左所 T'u-ssu or (Left *So*); the latter adjoins the territory of the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu in the south. The Chung-so 中所 (Central *So*) adjoins the Tso-so in the north and the Lang-ch'ü T'u-ssu on the west. The Hou-so 後所 (Rear *So*) adjoins Mu-li on the east, west, and north and Tso-so territory on the south, being wedged in between the southern boundary of Mu-li and the northern boundary of the Tso-so country. The Yu-so 右所 (Right *So*) in contradistinction to the Tso-so (Left *So*) is the farthest east. It adjoins the Yün-nan border in the south; the rest of this domain borders on Chinese-controlled territory in Ssu-ch'uan. These comprise the Wu-so 五所 (Five *So* or Military Guard Stations).

Kua-pieh, Ku-po-shu and Pi-chü-lu. — There remain now the Ku-po-shu 古柏樹 T'u-ssu, whose territory adjoins Mu-li in the west, and the Kua-pieh 瓜別 T'u-ssu in the north near the bend of the Li-t'ang River, or Li Chhu, where it debouches into the Ya-lung Chiang. The Li-t'ang Ho is often called the Hsiao-chin Ho 小金河 (Small gold River) in contradistinction to the Ya-lung Chiang which is also known by the name of Chin Ho.

The Kua-pieh T'u-ssu's southern boundary adjoins that of the Ku-po-shu T'u-ssu. To the west and north it adjoins the borders of Mu-li on the Li-t'ang River and Ya-lung Chiang.

The eighth Mo-so or Na-khi chief is called the A-sa-la 阿撒喇 T'u-ssu, the present-day Pi-chü-lu 畢直蘆,[1] whose territory is subject to the magistracy of Yen-pien 鹽邊縣 which adjoins the Yün-nan border in the south. This latter place is not marked on Major Davies' map, in fact the only one of the eight T'u-ssu given on his map is Kua-pieh.

The Wu-so T'u-ssu rule mostly over refractory Lo-lo tribes, if ruling it can be called, for they have no control over them, and live in constant fear and dread of them — which is also true of the three other T'u-ssu, neighbors of the Wu-so.

I. KUA-PIEH 瓜別

"The town of Kua-pieh [the residence of the chief] is 320 li from Yen-yüan hsien. The eastern border of Kua-pieh, which adjoins the district of

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[1] In the Yen-yüan Records Pi-chü-lu is not reckoned as one of the Nine *so* (九所) which are as follows: Mu-li, Kua-pieh, Ma-la, Chung-so, Tso-so, Yu-so, Ku-po-shu, Ch'ien-so and Hou-so.

AF16

Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

S ST 101 Hsi-ch'ang, is at the village of Mu-mu-ku 沒沒古 240 li distant. The southern border is formed by the mountain called O-tzu-wu 厄子午山 and adjoins the territory of Ku-po-shu 古柏樹, a distance of 170 li. The western border is formed by the K'ua-na Mountain 夸納山 adjoining the territory of Mu-li, a distance of 120 li. The northern border is formed by the Wa-lieh-ko-chia Mountain 瓦列歌甲山 adjoining the land of Mu-li, a distance of 280 li. The circumference of the entire Kua-pieh territory is 820 li. It controls 1,253 households composed of 2,826 tribespeople.

S ST 651 "The territory pays an annual land-tax of 70 *shih* 碩 of buckwheat, but in lieu of the latter, 35 *tan* 石 [piculs] of rice may be paid. This tax may also be converted into a cash payment in proportion of 1.24 taels of silver for every *tan* of rice, or a total of 43.40 taels silver. This tax is remitted to the Hui-yen ying 會鹽營 (Army corps of Hui-li and Yen-yüan) for soldiers' rations.

S ST 101 "There are two tribes subject to or inhabiting this district, namely the Mo-so and the Hsi-fan. Their temperament and customs are similar to those Fan barbarians under the jurisdiction of Mu-li." (PLATE 256).

The Pacification commissioner of Kua-pieh himself is a Mo-so tribesman. The present incumbent is a very young man who resides at Shih-hua-chai 石花寨. He rules (?) over more Lo-lo than Mo-so and Hsi-fan whom the Lo-lo have mostly supplanted. In January, 1924, his father, the then ruling T'u-ssu, was murdered by the Lo-lo with his entire family, save his eldest son, the present T'u-ssu, who escaped to Mu-li at the time of my first visit to the Mu-li King. As already remarked, the Lo-lo have now everywhere the upper hand, and the other tribes live in fear and trembling of those warlike savages.

In the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih*, ch. 97, fol. 18b, the boundaries vary somewhat from those given in the Yen-yüan Records. For example, it states that the territory extends east to the Ta-ch'ung Ho to the mouth of Mu-mu 沒沒 ford and Chia-cho Shan 甲擢山, a distance of 240 li, and adjoining the district boundary of Hsi-ch'ang; south to the Pai-chio Ho 白脚河 and O-tzu-wu Shan, a distance of 180 li, adjoining the border of Ku-po-shu. To the west it extends to Kuai-tai-ha-chia 拐帶哈呷 120 li, adjoining Mu-li territory. To the north it extends 280 li also to the Mu-li border.

Handel-Mazzetti, in his *Naturbilder aus Südwest China*, gives a description of Kua-pieh, which he calls Kwapi (pp. 49–59). A color plate (36) shows the village of Kua-pieh on a terrace encircled by high, forested mountains, a picture of peace and contentment; his PLATE 30 is a photograph of a fresco in the T'u-ssu's yamen depicting a battle between Kua-pieh Mo-so and Lo-lo. The Mo-so soldiers are carrying a flag bearing the character *Chi* 己, the family name of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu.

S 173 *Genealogy of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu (Pacification Commissioner)*. — "The first ancestor of the Kua-pieh T'u-ssu was a Mo-so tribesman by name Yü-chu-p'o 玉珠迫.[2] He submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi (1710),

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[2] This name does not occur in the first edition of the *Ssu-ch'uan T'ung-chih* (1733), but the first ruler after Yü-chu-p'o is stated to have submitted in the 49th year of K'ang-hsi.

000 he began to make excuses, and evidently did not like the idea. I did not want to run the chance of making any trouble in a country part of which was nominally in our territory, so I determined to take the Mêng-ting road, which being much the more level of the two would be S perhaps more likely than the other to become a trade route.

136 On the 12th March I left Nam-hu. The jungle here is full of pea fowl and jungle fowl, and within a few miles of Kun-long there is generally a herd of elephants to be found. We took the same road by which we had come and reached Mêng-ting on the 13th. The sawbwa sent a message to say that he would give me men to go with me to Mêng-ko, but warned me that the Las along that road had held a meeting a year or two ago and decided that no Englishman was to be allowed through their country, so that he (the sawbwa) would not be responsible for anything that might happen, and would recommend my taking the road round by Kêng-ma which was quite safe.

The sawbwa's willingness to send guides with me did not look as if he anticipated that I should have any serious difficulty, so I determined to stick to my intention to go by the Mêng-ko road. Accordingly the next day we started with an escort of two of the sawbwa's men, one armed with a gun, the other with a spear.

Two thousand feet of ascent took us to Man-hsak, a ST village containing a monastery and 50 houses, inhabited by 177 people who said they were Shans but had decidedly La features. Those Las who have become Buddhists have rather a weakness for calling themselves Shans, and even the Shans themselves will often speak of them as Taï Loi S or Hill Shans.

ST The Las and Was are found in considerable numbers 162 in the hills throughout Chên-k'ang (Möng-Cheng), Kêng-101 ma, and the other Chinese Shan States which lie between the Salween and the Mekong. They also form the bulk of the population in the independent Wa country which lies to the south of this on the borders of China and Burma.

There seems to be no way of drawing a definite distinction between the La and the Wa. The wild Was appear to call themselves Wa, but I could not hear of any group of the race who call themselves La in their own language.

S ST 101 The Shans usually speak of the Buddhist Las as Tai Loi, the non-Buddhist but fairly civilised tribesmen as La, and apply the name Wa to the head-hunters of the independent country. But this rule is not of universal application, for I found the inhabitants of a very civilised village near Mêng-mêng described as Was.

The Las, Was, and the cognate tribe the Palaungs, are no doubt originally of one stock, but are now split up into tribes differing much in degree of civilisation and in dialect. To get to the bottom of their tribal classification it would be necessary to discard the misleading appellations given to them by the Shans and Chinese, and to get from these people themselves their own names for the different tribes, and where the distinction between them lies.

S ST 197 If their language can be depended on as a guide, they belong to what has been named the Mon-Annam family of the Mongolian race, and are connected with the Talaings or Mons of Lower Burma, the Cambodians and the Annamese. This Mon-Annam family was probably the first Mongolian race to inhabit Indo-China, and the largest communities of them, possibly pushed southward by other tribes or possibly attracted by the more fertile plain country, drifted down to Lower Burma, to Cambodia, to Cochin China, to Annam, and to Tong-king where they founded powerful kingdoms.

S ST 101 In their movement towards the sea these people have left a regular trail of cognate tribes behind them. Beginning with the Palaungs in Yün-nan and the Northern Shan States, the line is continued by the Las, Was, and La-was down to the Talaings of Lower Burma, while in an easterly direction the Las continue through Keng Tung till they join with the Kha-mus and La-meits who spread out towards Tong-king and Annam. The Kha-mus of Chien Hkawng, the Stiengs, Mois, and other tribes of the same family carry the line down the Mekong to Cambodia and Cochin China.

S ST 291 301 Among the Las I came across in Kêng-ma and the neighbouring states, the men's dress was as a rule the universal dark blue of the Chinese and Chinese Shans. The women usually wear skirts striped with red, blue or white, and dark blue jackets ornamented with a little red

Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

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ST 233 But Chung-tien is essentially a grazing country. Everywhere one sees large herds and flocks of live stock—yaks, S cattle, ponies, mules, sheep, and pigs. The breed of ponies ST is considered a good one, and mules and ponies are taken [439] nearly every year to Bhamo for sale. Rice and sugar are the chief imports, brought in by Chinese traders from Ho-ch'ing Chou. No doubt the district would be very S prosperous if it were not ground down by the lamas.

ST 563 .101 The natives of Chung-tien are of a different race from those of Mi-li. The latter belong to the semi-Tibetan family which it is convenient to call Hsi-fan. I was told that there were two different tribes in the Mi-li state, called K'a-mi and P'rü-mi respectively. The inhabitants of Chung-tien are of the genuine Tibetan race, who call themselves Pê or Pö. This in the written language is "b'ot" and is probably the last syllable of our word Tibet, the first syllable being the Tibetan word "teu" meaning "high" or "upper[1]."

S ST 195 A vocabulary that I took down at Chung-tien shows that the language of that district only differs in dialect from the Tibetan of Lhasa. The speech of Mi-li, on the contrary, though it contains some Tibetan words, is more nearly akin to the Lo-lo and to other Hsi-fan dialects.

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[1] This is Desgodins' derivation, and Rockhill also agrees. Terrien de Lacouperie, however, derives "Tibet" from *Deba*, which means a ruler or king.

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China: Yao AE6
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
Lolo AE4

L
131 [102 cont.]
101 are very close relatives of theirs. The garments of the women are
[291] analogous to those of the "Pen-ti-lolo," but less decorated.

585 Marriages always take place during the winter.

L
764 The women follow the funeral cortèges weeping, in the manner of the Annamese weeping women. When the head of a family has been buried, his sons keep a fire burning on his grave for nine days.

The "La-ti" (1)

1. See note 1 under "Lao" on page 110.

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● 101
131 The "La-ti," most of whom are settled in the Chinese canton of Tu-long, are represented in Tonkin by about one hundred families, in the sectors of Xin Man and of Man Mei. They are also called "La-chi"; they call themselves by the name of "A-Khu" (the men). Their classification in the "Thai" group is rather doubtful.

[103]

CHAPTER III

THE "MAN" GROUP

[104] [Blank page in original text.]

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CHAPTER III

THE "MAN" GROUP

Y
101 The term "Man" in the Chinese language literally signifies "rude barbarians." It is the name given by the Chinese to all the populations of foreign race inhabiting the southern borders of the empire.

The Chinese also call the group "Yao," which we designate by the name "Man," but bearing in mind the fact that many of the neighboring groups (Thai, Annamese, Chinese of Upper Tonkin and

S 342 [177] other customs. The houses (Plate VI, 3) are built in the wide marshy lake region, sometimes close to the shore, sometimes on small islands. For a great part of the year some of them stand directly in the water. Some of these settle- S [361] ments look like real lake dwellings. Communication between them can be done only by boat. Therefore the pile substructure must be particularly high and strong. There I found very large verandas. The awnings extending over them were also unusually large. The verandas were completely enclosed by low walls. This almost wholly walled-in room is used as living quarters and for visiting purposes. Wood is predominantly used for the houses, since they are very much exposed to moisture, and the same material is employed for the floors and walls. Striking are the long boards which cross each other at both gable sides over the awning and extend high in the air (15).

15. About the same custom cf. below pp. 214, 217, 220 and 225, col. 1, fn. 2 at the sections about the houses of the Taungthu, Wa, Palaung, Meithei and Naga. About the same gable decoration of the Kha Paille in northern Laos: *Mission Pavie* /Pavian Mission/ 5 (Paris, 1902), p. 232. About the Intha villages in general, cf. also A. Fischer, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* /Journal for Ethnology/ Vol. 35 (1903), p. 982.

Si 10(In Yunnan and the adjoining areas, and also dispersed in the eastern regions of Burma, live the Lisu, a Tibeto-Burmese tribe--1911: 8,487; they are known in the districts of Bhamo and Myitkyina as Yawyin, a name which they owe to the Kachin (16). Their center is in the Salween

31: Scherman--23 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Sino-Tibetan Peoples AE3
Lisu

area. The wildest and most independent tribes live isolated in the barren highlands of the upper Salween.

The civilization of the Lisu shows mostly Chi-
177 nese influence. Rose and Brown report about
342 their architecture that at the upper Salween they use grass roofed pile dwellings under which they keep their domestic animals, and that they build ground level huts in the mountains at Tengyueh and Kuyung Kai (17). Their layouts apparently

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101 16. The pronunciation of the name (Liso, Lisu, Lisaw, Li-Hsaw, Chinese: Lutzu) is disputed. It was pronounced by the inhabitants of the village of Pangsapyi as Lishō, Lishū. More recent literature: UBG I, 1, p. 587 (Lisaw, Burma) and p. 615 ("Lissu am Salween Yünnan") /Lisu on the Salween, Yunnan/; C.C. Lowis, "The Tribes of Burma" (Ethnographical Survey of India, No. 4, Rangoon, 1910), pp. 33 ff.; A. Rose and J.C. Brown, "Lisu (Yawyin) tribes of the Burma-China Frontier," Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 3, (1910), No. 4 pp. 249-277; R. Brunhauber, An Hinterindiens Riesenströmenx /On Indochina's Giant Rivers/ (Berlin, 1912), pp. 73 ff.

17. Cf. Rose-Brown, ibid., p. 260 and Plates IV, Figure 2; VII, Figure 2; VIII, Figures 1 and 2. E.C. Young, "A Journey from Yün-nan to Assam," Geographical Journal Vol. 30 (1907), p. 159, describes Lisu houses, not far from Lu-kou, at the upper Salween--in the same area which was visited by Prince Henri d'Orléans; he too reports about the pile dwellings of the local

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101, 105, 113

Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
Minchia

For information pertaining to the Sinicized Minchia of "Westtown," Yunnan, see

26: Hsu AF1 China
4: Hsu AF16 Southwest China

101, 105, 113 ●

Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
Minchia

[For information pertaining to the Sinicized Minchia of "Westtown," Yunnan, see

26: Hsu AF1 China
4: Hsu AF16 Southwest China]

103

103 PLACE NAMES--lists of the names of settlements and geographical features; etymologies of place names; historical and cultural connotations; etc. See also:

Settlements 36
Personal names 551
Territorial divisions 631

563 costume of the Shan women in western Yunnan is not unlike that of the northern division of the Min Chia dwelling on the plateau of Chien Ch'uan. Both peoples are rice farmers and avoid the wooded mountains which they leave to the Li Su [276] or other tribes. The Shans to-day practise the custom of betel-nut chewing, which the Min Chia do not, but it is interesting to read that as late as fifty years ago and less, the Min Chia had this habit, which was observed by early English travellers in western Yunnan.[1] Finally Ta Li was the capital of the Nan Chao Kingdom of which the ruling family was certainly Shan, originally the lords of Meng Hua, a city south of the Min Chia country.

103 It has been suggested that the name "Ta Li" in Min Chia *Dai Lai* is of Shan origin, which is not unlikely, seeing that the city was founded by one of the Shan Nan Chao kings.

563 If "The White King", the Min Chia legendary hero, who has none the less a real royal tomb near Ta Li, be identified with one of the Nan Chao kings, then the association of the Min Chia with the Shans is close. But no sense of kinship with the Shans of western Yunnan is now felt by the Min Chia. They are not themselves in contact with any Shan tribe, for the nearest settlements of that people are in the Salween valley fifteen stages west of the Min Chia country. Thus if they are in fact an outlying colony of the Tai race they have lost all sense of community with the parent body, and are now in sentiment more allied to the Chinese.

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[1] Across Chryse. A. R. Colquhoun. Vol. II, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, London, 1883.

CHAPTER 3

THE CITY OF GREAT PRINCIPLES

THE name Ta Li, meaning "Great Principles", was given 361 to the city by its founder King Pi-Lo-Ko of Nan Chao in [103] 746 A.D. It was not the first city to be built on the plain, for it was preceded by T'ai Ho Ch'êng, also a capital of Nan Chao, which stood on the site now occupied by T'ai Ho T'sun, a village some five miles south of Ta Li, half way to Hsia Kuan. Earlier than this a fortified site upon the moun- [172] tain slope above Ta Li shows traces of occupation which may date from neolithic times. Ta Li as it now stands is a walled city rectangular in shape, about one mile long by half a mile in width. At some past date it was enlarged by extending the west and east walls by a third again, and building a new south wall. The old south wall was demolished, but the old south gate, known to day as the Wu Hua Lou, the Tower of Five Glories, was left intact and used as a bell tower. Although the area thus enclosed by walls is large, very little of it is now occupied with buildings. The long main street connecting the north and south gates, and the less busy east and west gate streets, are flanked by quiet residential lanes, which, long before the walls are reached, tail off into market gardens and fields. Almost every house has its ample garden, and wide areas of vacant land are used as parade grounds and fair grounds for the fortnightly market.

It is certain that the city was formerly more inhabited than 669 at present, for within the past century it has sustained two 731 disasters of the first magnitude. In 1874 on the suppression of the Moslem rebellion the citizens of that religion, some ten thousand in number, were put to the sword, and thus probably half, or at least a third, of the inhabitants of Ta Li

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105 CULTURAL SUMMARY--synopsis of the whole culture (as a background for specific information); references to summaries in other works. See also:

Cultural history	17	Ethos	181

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

Ch'iang

walking-sticks made, and every Ch'iang to which the writer has shown the picture has stated that he has seen nothing like it in the Ch'iang region. Snakes on canes used by the priests are very rare among the Ch'iang and are much more crudely carved. When a snake does occur it is with the idea that the snake makes the stick more efficient in exorcising demons. 174 177

5. The Ch'iang tradition is that the migration to western Szechwan took one year and several months, not three years and six months as is affirmed on page 19 of "The First Missionaries to China." Even Kou P'in-shan stated to the writer that it was one year and several months. 174

6. The flat roofed houses, the high watch-towers, the stone buildings, the sacred white stones and many other culture traits are common among tribespeople all over the highlands of western Szechwan, Si K'ang and eastern Tibet, and may have been acquired by the Ch'iang after they arrived in Szechwan. The sky god is very similar to the god T'ien worshipped by the Chous who were the allies of the Ch'iang in B.C. 1121. 174 171

Let us assume for a moment that the Ch'iang are Hebrews. How amazing it is that neither the Ch'iang nor the Chinese knew anything about it, and that the Ch'iang have no taboo against eating pork. 174

VI. *Conclusion.*

This article is a preliminary statement that needs criticism, correction, and amplification. They will be welcomed by the writer, as well as additional information. 105

The Ch'iang people are changing rapidly. There are villages in which it is almost impossible to find any person that can speak the Ch'iang language and who understands their customs. The great variation in language and mores in different localities, and the natural reticence of the people make it extremely difficult to understand and to interpret accurately the life and ideals of these people.

They came to this country many centuries ago, apparently from the northeast, and settled in this mountainous, semi-arid land where it has been difficult to wrest a livelihood from nature, and where powerful enemies have made war on them. Their neighbors, excepting the Chinese, are in the Tibetan culture area, and through them numerous culture traits have penetrated into the Ch'iang region. They have had constant cultural contacts with the Chinese through

Ch'iang

98

105 war, government, trade, and intermarriage, and they have been influenced by the Chinese more than by any other cultural group. The establishment of more friendly relations and the opening of primary schools in recent years have accelerated this influence.

Physically the Ch'iang are of the yellow race, possibly of the Tibetan-Burman racial group, with dark eyes, black and straight hair, and a brown complexion.

The Ch'iang have a supreme god whom they call Mu Bya Sei or Sky God, to whom they look primarily for help in their quest for a satisfying life. He closely resembles T'ien the god whom the Chou people worshipped as a supreme god in 1121 B. C. when the Ch'iang assisted the Chou in the war that put an end to the Shang Dynasty. The Ch'iang are not monotheists, for they have numerous gods which they have probably worshipped for many years, besides the Chinese gods whom they have learned to worship in recent times.

They have no written language, and the chants and rituals have been handed down by word of mouth from one priest to another. There are elaborate rituals with sacrifices for worship on the housetops and in the sacred groves. These rituals are most carefully and reverently performed. The gods and the priests have, it is believed, superhuman power made available through the ceremonies and through charms and incantations. The white stone is symbolic of the purity of the god, or gods, and near it communion can be had with the deities, who are actually present. The white stone possesses superhuman potency in common with charms, sacred implements, cowries, etc., and it is sometimes used as a means of protecting the homes from demons.

The Ch'iang are a strong and industrious people whose morals on the whole are good. They should be treated with sympathy and respect. With the cooperation and friendship of the Chinese Government and the Chinese people, and with better schools and religious contacts, they can make a valuable contribution morally, commercially, and it may be culturally to the future of the western highlands and of China.

101, 105, 113

Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
Minchia

For information pertaining to the Sinicized Minchia of "Westtown," Yunnan, see

26: Hsu AF1 China
4: Hsu AF16 Southwest China

113. 133. 177. 621. 105 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3
Minchia

[For information pertaining to the distribution, acculturation, and social organization of the Minchia see 2: Wiens, AF17 South China, category 116, Pp. 319-321. For a cultural summary of the Pai-Man peoples (including the Minchia) see ibid., category 116, Pp. 53-54. --Analyst]

113, 105 ●

Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

[For a cultural summary of the Ch'iang, see 2: Wiens, AF17 South China, category 116, Pp. 49-50. --Analyst]

113, 105

Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3
Akha

[For a cultural summary of the Akha, see 2: Wiens, AF17 South China, see category 116, Pp. 317-318. --Analyst]

101, 105, 113 Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
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Minchia

[For information pertaining to the Sinicized Minchia of "Westtown," Yunnan, see

26: Hsu AF1 China
4: Hsu AF16 Southwest China]

111

111 SOURCES PROCESSED--complete bibliographical references to all sources actually processed, with a brief critique of each. Sources are numbered, and arranged numerically.

1: Fitzgerald, C. P., The Tower of Five Glories. London, The Cresset Press, 1941.

Pp. xii, 280; 31 plates; 3 maps; index; glossary.

Yale: Bj19, Y8, 941f.

[The economy, religion, social structure and environment of the Min Chia people of Yunnan province is discussed in some detail by the author. Fitzgerald, one of the worlds outstanding Sinologist, has had anthropological training which enables him to handle this subject, which is essentially ethnographic, in a very able manner. Considerable insight into the customs and values of this people is given. The isolation both from greater China and the outside world is shown to be a factor against acculturation of the Min Chia. --Analyst]

Field date: 1937-1938
Analyst: Frank W. Moore

Evaluation: Historian-5
Processed in 1955

2: T'ao Yün-k'uei. Chi-ko Yün-nan Tsang-mien yü-hsi t'u-tsu ti ch'uang-shih ku-shih [Some Creation Stories Told by the Native Peoples of the Tibetan-Burmese Group in Yunnan.] Pien-chiang Yen-chiu Lun-ts'ung [Frontier Studies], pp. 1-12. Chengtu, 1945.

Yale: Bjla.P591.

Translated from the Chinese for the Human Relations Area Files by Yankee P. Tsang.

[These recorded creation stories were obtained by the author from members of the Moso, Lisu, Ch'iutzu, and Aka groups of Yunnan. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Robert E. Winter

Evaluation: Ethnologist--4
Processed in 1956

3: Torrance, T. The Basic Spiritual Conceptions of the Religion of the Chiang. Journal of the West China Border Research Society, Vol. 6, pp. 31-48. Chengtu: West China Border Research Society, 1933.

5 plates.

Yale: Bj12. 67. 5-6.

[This article attempts to show the common origin of the Chiang and the Hebrews through a comparison of their monotheism and other aspects of their religion. In so doing the author describes the sacred groves where the Chiang worship, some of their sacred objects and beliefs, and some of their religious ceremonies and sacrifices. The author spent some time among the Chiang people in Northwestern Szechwan. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Ada Farber

Evaluation: Ethnologist--4
Processed in 1956

4: Liu, En-lan. The Social Customs of the Tribes Peoples as Affected by their Climatic and Geographical Environment. Journal of the West China Border Research Society, ser. A, Vol. XV, pp. 11-21. Chengtu: 1944.

Yale: Bj12.67.15 /a

[This article is a short description of the ethnic-linguistic affinities of various Sino-Tibetan border peoples, their geographic environment, and the effect of the latter on their social organization. The peoples discussed are the Ch'iang, Gia-rung, Fan, and Black River People. There is a map showing the distribution of these peoples in Li-Fan County (Hsien); this map would be more useful if latitude and longitude and scale of miles were given. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Arthur Fields

Evaluation: Geographer--4
Processed in 1955

5: Graham, David Crockett. The Customs of the Ch'iang. Journal of the West China Border Research Society, pp. 69-100, Vol. XIV, Series A. Chengtu: Yung Hsing Cooperative Press, 1942.

Yale: Bj 12. 67. 14A.

[This monograph covers the observations of the author on the Ch'iang, as a result of his contact with them in 1933 and again in 1941 as a member of a group sent to the borderland for social service and research. The author gives an excellent resume of the history and content of the culture of the Ch'iang with many excellent first-hand materials and clearly indicated secondary ones, covering its setting, anthropometry, economic life, habitations and settlement patterns, occupations, food, clothing, tools and utensils, social life, marriage, birth and death practices and the religious life, including ceremonies and the training of priests. There is also a brief discussion of the hypothesis that the Ch'iang are Hebraic in origin. --Analyst]

Field date: 1933, 1941
Analyst: Leslie L. Clark

Evaluation: Ethnologist--5
Processed in 1955.

111

AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border
Mewu

6: Stübel, Hans. Die Mewu Fan-tse von Ch'inghai /The Mewu Fantzu of Ch'inghai/. Unpublished manuscript. 1954

Pp. 1-90

Secured on loan from author. /HRAF MS. Pp. i, 1-72/

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Frieda Schütze.

/This source is a general ethnography of a Tibetan tribe, partly nomadic and partly sedentary, living to the east of T'ao-chou, about 200 miles southeast of Koko Nor, on both sides of the Kansu-Ch'inghai border. Special emphasis is placed upon Mewu religion, including funerals, eschatology, the Lama monastic system, shamans, religious syncretism, and divination and sorcery. Attention is paid to Mewu community organization (though not in detail), settlement of disputes, relations with non-Mewu, and the Mewu militia system and its relation to Chinese control of the area. Some coverage is also given to physical type, history, settlement pattern, subsistence (mainly pastoralism), and the environment in which the Mewu live. The author focusses his attention mainly on the nomadic rather than on the sedentary Mewu. --Analyst/

Field date: 1936
Analyst: Arthur Fields

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1956

111 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border
Ch'iang

7: Hu Chien-min. Ch'iang-tsu chih hsin-yang yü hsi-wei /Beliefs and Practices of the Ch'iang Tribesmen/, Pien-chiang Yen-chiu Lun-ts'ung (Frontier Studies) Pp. 1-44, Chengtu China, 1941.

Yale: Bj la. P591.1941

Translated from the Chinese for HRAF by John T. Ma.

/Hu, a Chinese ethnologist, seeks to analyze Ch'iang religion in terms of classical anthropological usage. The totemistic and animistic elements of Ch'iang religion are isolated and described. The elements of Ch'iang religious practices which can be ascribed to the sinicization process are contrasted with the aboriginal beliefs. Very little data on material culture is included. --Analyst/

Field date: 1937
Analyst: Frank W. Moore

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1956

113

113 ADDITIONAL REFERENCES--bibliographical lists; annotated bibliographies; works referred to in processed sources; etc.

Ch'iang

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12. 尚書　牧誓篇
13. 汶志記略　卷一　嘉慶十年
14. 明史　第三百一十卷　四川土司一百九十九
15. 松潘縣志　邊防　民國十六年
16. 前漢書　第九十五卷　西南夷列傳　西羌傳六十五
17. 後漢書　第八十七卷　西南夷列傳　西羌傳七十七
18. 茂州志　卷三　邊防　道光十一年
19. 唐書　卷二百二十一上　西域列傳　一百四十六上
20. 康熙字典　未集中　羊部
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22. 華陽國志　嘉慶甲子
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Mewu

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SA luk-k'i, id. (from Shan). All three languages have distinct
197 Sl terms applied under normal conditions. Contrast Garo
601 nok-rong "Sl living in Fl's house" (native term), cowari "Sl
ST other than above" (from Indic); note that among the Garo the
197 nok-rong is a formalized institution in a matrilineal society.
601 It would be difficult to find a more ideal illustration of the
mirroring of sociological features in linguistic phenomena.

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Sh 197 601 Siamese has pu FF, ya FM, ta MF, yai MM. Affinal terms are formed with the aid of various honorific elements, but at least two primary affinal roots exist (*k'ŏi S1 and baŭ D1). The equation of N with gCh in the root *hlan is an outstanding Thai feature, and is reminiscent of Tibetan ts'a, Kuki tu, and the like. Categorical equations indicative of xC marriage are conspicuously absent. In general, the Thai terminology is suggestive of a bilateral kindred grouping rather than a unilateral clan or lineage grouping.

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601 descent, however, MB=Fl rather than FSi=Ml should be the pivotal relationship, hence the problem is a two-sided one. No likely solution is at hand, and the writer will content himself merely by posing this as a final problem.

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/For a linguistic reconstruction of the kinship terminology of the Moso, Lisu, Nyi, Ahi, and Lolopho, see AL1 Southeast Asia, 23: Benedict, category 116, pp. 205-235./

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Minchia

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26: Hsu AF1 China
4: Hsu AF16 Southwest China]

101, 105, 113

Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
Minchia

For information pertaining to the Sinicized Minchia of "Westtown," Yunnan, see

26: Hsu AF1 China
4: Hsu AF16 Southwest China

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Tibetans

/For a short discussion of Tibetan-Chinese relationships in Sikang and the effect of Communist rule upon them, see 1: Stanford University, AF16 Southwest China, category 116, pp. 85-86/

113, 105 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

●

Ch'iang

[For a cultural summary of the Ch'iang, see 2: Wiens, AF17 South China, category 116, Pp. 49-50. --Analyst]

113, 105 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3
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Akha

[For a cultural summary of the Akha, see 2: Wiens, AF17 South China, see category 116, Pp. 317-318. --Analyst]

113. 133. 177. 621. 105 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

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Minchia

[For information pertaining to the distribution, acculturation, and social organization of the Minchia see 2: Wiens, AF17 South China, category 116, Pp. 319-321. For a cultural summary of the Pai-Man peoples (including the Minchia) see ibid., category 116, Pp. 53-54. --Analyst]

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114 COMMENTS--reviews; critiques of earlier sources; information about authors and their backgrounds; general statements on field experience; etc. See also:

Methodology	12	Date and locale of field study	101

THE CUSTOMS OF THE CH'IANG

David Crockett Graham.

I. *Preface.*

114 The writer's first contact with the Ch'iang people was in the summer of 1933 when he went into the Ch'iang region on a collecting expedition for the Smithsonian Institution. He visited a number of villages, including O Er, Lung Ch'i Chai, 龍溪寨, Mu Shang Chai, Tung Men Wai 東門外, and Chiu Tzu T'un 九子屯. He visited some of their homes and sacred places, saw their dance at Chiu Tzu T'un and collected a number of their objects for the West China Union University Museum of Archaeology, Art, and Ethnology.

In the summer of 1941 it was the good fortune of the writer to be included in a group of seventy professors and students sent by the National Ministry of Education to the borderland for social service and research. With a student of the West China Union University Department of Sociology, Mr. Ch'in Hsueh-sheng 秦學聖, whom the writer found to be an excellent companion, he was sent to the Min Valley to study the Miao who were supposed to be there. Finding no Miao in that region, they spent several weeks in the study of the Ch'iang, visiting Mou Chow, Wei Chow, Wen Ch'uan, P'u Wa, Tung Men Wai, Lung Ch'i Chai, Ts'a To, and Ta Ho P'in Chai, besides T'eng Lin Shan, the home of the hereditary Wa Ssu official.

000 The writer wishes to express his deep and sincere thanks to Mr. Wang Wen-hsuan 王文萱 director of the National Ministry of Education, and to Prof. Chang Po-huai 張伯懷博士 of Cheeloo University for being included in this group and given this opportunity to study these most interesting tribespeople who are so little known, and in some places so misunderstood. It is hoped that this preliminary study will encourage further research in the life and customs of the Ch'iang people.

186 In 1933 the writer found among the Ch'iang a spirit of an-
177 tagonism towards the Chinese the result of centuries of wars and oppression. In 1941 he noted a great change towards friendliness. There are villages where the Ch'iang are no longer called I-jen 夷人 by the Chinese, and where the natives consider themselves to be

[p. 69]

Ch'iang

the village. If anybody does so, serious calamities may result. Near 796 Ts'a To the writer was told that once two strangers entered the 778 village a day or two after the sacrifice had been performed, with the result that during that year many of the domestic animals died.

7. Sacred Groves.

Every village has a sacred grove. Its trees, which are generally oaks, are sacred and must not be cut down. In it are from one to three trees that are especially sacred and near these is an altar capped with a sacred white stone. In front of this altar the sacrificial animal is killed. In or near the sacred grove is generally a small temple made of stones and plastered together with clay. There are no images in it, but in one corner is a sacred white stone.

There is a procession led by the priest and the master of ceremonies followed by men and boys from all the homes in the village. They first go to temple where the priest chants, beats his drum, and now and then dances. Then they march to the altar near the most sacred trees, where the animal is sacrificed and offered to the gods. Then they return to the temple where the meat is cooked and divided, and the flesh is eaten. A large cake of unleavened wheat bread is offered with the goat.

Most of the ceremony is performed at night and very early in the morning. The sky and the stars above, the trees and shrubs below, the darkness and the silence, the sacred trees and the altar with its sacred white stone, give an atmosphere of awe and wonder so that the worshipper believes that he meets his gods and feels their very presence. The worshipper experiences the emotional thrill that is realized through the belief that he has had actual communion with his gods.

In recent years some of the sacred trees have been cut down and used, some by Chinese soldiers, and others by the Ch'iang themselves.

8. The Tradition of Hebrew Origin.

Before the establishing of the Chinese Republic neither Chinese, 174 foreigners, nor Ch'iang had any idea that the Ch'iang were Hebrews. 114 It was approximately 1915 when Rev. Thomas Torrance began to work among the Ch'iang people. He sincerely loved them, and tried to help them by teaching them the Christian religion, by opening schools (which he was prevented from doing), and by giving them good bulls, cockerels, etc. One of his early converts, and the most

Mewu

PREFACE

The present account is based on notes which I took on a journey 114 through Kansu in the summer and fall of 1936. The purpose of my trip was to become better acquainted with a Tibetan nomad tribe. Unfortunately, difficulties arose on the trip which I could not foresee. I was obliged to break off my work prematurely, for while I was in the Tibetan grasslands Mao Tse-tung's army invaded southern Kansu on its famous great march to the North. (1) I was in danger of

> 1. from Kiangsi through South China to Yünnan, thence through the western border region of China to Kansu, and finally to Yen-an in Shensi.

being cut off from the capital, Lanchow. This march to the north was a portent of the troubled times which began with the Sino-Japanese War and which were followed by the Second World War and the Communist revolution in China. In the tumult of this period I lost first my ethnological collection in China, which I had gathered on the trip, and in the end also a large amount of photographic material that I had accumulated. Thus the illustrations which I planned as an essential part of this work are lacking, and without the objects I collected it was impossible for me to give as detailed an account as I should have liked of the material culture of the tribe I visited. I therefore wish to refer the reader first of all to the illustrations and the excellent brief description which W. W. Rockhill (2) has given

> 2. Rockhill 1).

of his collection in the US National Museum in Washington. For the landscape the best illustrations are found in A. Tafel's (3) book on

> 3. Tafel 2).

his Tibetan journey, and for ethnic types and folk costumes the reader is referred primarily to the illustrations of M. Hermanns. (1)

> 1. Hermanns 3).

/2/ In the meantime our knowledge of the nomads of northeastern Tibet (or Kansu) has increased tremendously. In this

114 connection I should like to mention above all the comprehensive work of Father M. Hermanns (2): Die Nomaden von Tibet, and the

2. Hermanns 3).

excellent portrayal by R. B. Ekvall (3) of the sociological and eco-

3. Ekvall 4).

nomic conditions of the region I visited. The book by Hermanns gives a wide survey of the culture of the Tibetan nomads; the work by Ekvall is rich in factual material and discusses the cultural relationships between Chinese, Mohammedans, and sedentary and nomadic Tibetans. This is extremely interesting for the ethno-sociologist.

The authors of these two books had the advantage of living for many years among the Tibetans and of speaking their language. I can present only a modest supplement to their work by setting forth
124 my observations of a single tent camp. Besides my assistant Mr. Wu Hsin-wei, an experienced ethnological field worker, I was fortunate enough to have as traveling companions an excellent interpreter for Tibetan and a reliable Tibetan stableman who spoke Chinese. My interpreter was a Chinese trader who lived in He-tso, the Chinese and Mohammedan settlement of some size nearest the area I visited. As a young man he had been forced into the region of the Tibetan nomads, following a Mohammedan uprising, and he lived and traded among these people for many years. He was particularly friendly with a few of the Tibetans in the camp I visited. He was a keen observer and was apparently himself interested in the life of the nomads. He was always willing to answer my questions as objectively as was possible for a simple trader, to arrange introductions /2a/ with Tibetan informants, and to interpret patiently.

133 The landscape and climate of the Tibetan steppes have often been depicted by more competent persons, so that a description will not be necessary. For the author, the weeks he spent in a small tent adjoining the camp of the Mewu-Fantzu were not only a period of ethnological field work, but also an inspiring experience of nature. In the height of summer the steppe is a gay carpet of flowers, especially edelweiss, luminous blue gentian, yellow and red pedicularis. On the heights between the shallow, narrow valleys there is a limitless vista on all sides, when it is not broken by individual steep, light-colored limestone massifs rising up more than 5,000 meters, their peaks often covered with freshly fallen

mewu

771 that of Lamaism in the religious life of the Tibetans. The chief
184 reason why Lamaism has not supplanted Tibetan folk religion entirely is probably the fact that Lamaism is a very exclusive priestly religion, in the ritual of which the layman participates only very little, whereas folk religion, just as in China, corresponds most closely to the needs of the laymen, and is therefore the most indispensable to them. In Tibet, just as in China, a sort of border area has gradually arisen between Buddhist religion in its strictest sense and folk religion. In both countries Buddhism has taken over and more or less assimilated cults, rites and ideas from folk religion, and thus satisfied the religious needs of the people. The only difference has been that, in spite of its exclusiveness, Tibetan Lamaism is much more intimately interwoven with the religious, social and economic life of the entire people /42/ than is the case with Chinese Buddhism. The majority of the Chinese people are connected only very superficially with actual Buddhism, - most of them have very little or no contact with it at all. On the other hand, the religious life of present-day Tibetans is unthinkable without Lamaism.

771 We cannot, of course, attempt to give even a cursory descrip-
● 114 tion of Lamaistic religion in the following pages. Nor was it possible for me, during my brief stay with the Mewu-Fantzu, to gain a thorough knowledge of their folk religion. I must limit myself to a presentation of what my Chinese informer and interpreter, who was apparently interested, told me in answer to my questions about religion, what I learned from the Mewu-Fantzu themselves in conversations held through the interpreter, and my own observations and impressions. I shall try, however, to give the main characteristics of the religious life of the Tibetan layman - in this case the tent-dwelling, cattle-raising Mewu-Fantzu nomad.

186 Conversations with Tibetans which deal with their personal
771 conditions and especially with religious questions, are, of course,
124 difficult. The Tibetans are very suspicious of a stranger, being unaccustomed to the sight of foreigners, completely caught up in magic, and being unable to understand the interest of a stranger in their religious ideas and customs, which they themselves in most cases do not think about but simply accept. They are only too ready to fear that the stranger might cause harm with the knowledge he is seeking to gain. I was always obliged to wait for suitable occasions to bring the conversation around to religious problems as casually as possible. Often I had to change the subject,

/9/ Introduction

● 114 In June, 1937, this writer went to northwestern Szechuan to study frontier tribes and, owing to my guide's familiarity with the local situation, visited all the principal Ch'iang areas in the three districts of Wen-ch'uan, Mao-hsien, and Li-fan. We went through numerous narrow passages and experienced many difficulties and
101 dangers. While in Wen-ch'uan, it happened that Magistrate Lin Chien-chao was making a new map of the district, and following the directions in his new map, we visited all Ch'iang outposts on the right bank of the Min River. We also went to the territory of the Wa-shih chieftain on the left bank of the river. In Mao-hsien, we went east across the T'u-ti Range to T'u-men and then moved north to the Wei-men-kuan watercourse, visiting all the outposts in that area. Then along the western bank of the Min River, we proceeded northward to Liang-ho-k'ou and thence turned into the valley of the Hei-shui River to survey the district of San-ch'i-ao. We returned to Wei-chou and entered the area of Li-fan, visiting villages along both sides of the Tsa-ku-nao River up to P'u-ch'i-kou on the border of the Ch'iang and the Jung territories. We had planned to choose Hsing-shang-chai in Li-fan and Lo-pu-chai in Wen-ch'uan as areas of intensive study. However, first because of the Lu-kou-ch'iao Incident and then because of the intensification of the situation in Shanghai, we were compelled to give up our plan and return home. Thus, our work fell short of complete success, a fact which we still regret. The material we have collected can be divided into several chapters dealing with geographical distribution, material life, social system, and beliefs and practices. On account of the limitation of time, we can, after a brief preparation, present to ethnographers only the part dealing with beliefs and practices in the hope of receiving instructive criticism from them.

177 Generally speaking, the material life and the social system are
527 the more Sinicized aspects of the Ch'iang culture. (Because of their nearness to each other, some Ch'iang tribesmen were also influenced by the Fan and the Chia-jung tribes.) As to their spiritual culture, although they have lost or forgot part of it, yet in some remote areas, we can still find a general picture of it. During the New Year, on festival days, and at the time of wedding, funeral, and other ceremonies, all the cultural treasures of the Ch'iang -- such as sorcery, rites, historical legends, tribal mythology, songs and dances, -- are still enthusiastically performed again and again, often under the

116

116 **TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:**

Literary texts 539

000

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

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000

By the same author

CHINA: A SHORT CULTURAL HISTORY

[p. ii]

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

000

A STUDY OF

THE MIN CHIA OF TA LI, YUNNAN

BY

C. P. FITZGERALD

LONDON
THE CRESSET PRESS
1941

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

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[Face p. iii]

PREFACE

[22] 121 THE investigation of which this book is a record was made with the assistance of a Leverhulme Fellowship for the years 1937 and 1938. As the work was carried out alone, and in a field hitherto neglected by ethnologists, I am conscious that there must be many omissions and oversights in this survey of the Min Chia culture as it is to-day. The language barrier was certainly not wholly surmounted, for while I cannot claim to have learned to speak Min Chia with real fluency, the Min Chia of the less educated class do not speak Chinese without difficulty and cannot express all their thought in that language. The vocabulary printed as an appendix will no doubt reveal the effects of these difficulties, and the system of romanisation adopted for Min Chia, being based on English and not on the Wade system used for Chinese, may not meet with the approval of all readers. My justification for this must be that I have endeavoured to render Min Chia pronunciation as it is sounded, and that the vocabulary was made primarily for my own use when learning the language. I can only hope that this first attempt to record the Min Chia language and its grammar may prove of some interest to specialists.

000 While in Yunnan I received at all times the assistance and hospitality of the missionaries of the China Inland Mission, and I wish especially to acknowledge my debt to Mr. and Mrs. W. Allen, Mr. H. Owen and Mr. E. Holmes, of the C.I.M. in Ta Li. I also had the advantage of consulting the late Mr. Fraser of this Mission, whose knowledge of the peoples of Yunnan, and especially the Li Su, was unrivalled.

The debt of pupil to teacher, so well understood in China, is due to Professor B. Malinowski, under whom I studied anthropology before venturing into the field.

[p. vii] [pp. iv, v, vi, are blank]

000 Above all, I owe the original inspiration which directed my work to the late Professor C. G. Seligman, F.R.S., whose friendship and fruitful suggestions guided my enquiries. I am happy to know that not long before his death he read the manuscript of this book.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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MAPS

Environs of Ta Li City
Yunnan Province
Ta Li District and Erh Hai Lake

[p.xi] [p.xii is blank]

CHAPTER I

AZURE MOUNTAIN AND EAR LAKE

131 A LITTLE TO the north of the main caravan route between China and Burma, in the mountains of western Yunnan, there is a strip of fertile rice land stretching northwards between T'ien Ts'ang Shan, the Celestial Azure Mountain, and Erh Hai, the Ear Lake. This plain of Ta Li is the home of the Min Chia people, one of the most numerous, and most civilised of the non-Chinese tribes of Yunnan. The Min Chia also occupy the valley of the Erh river flowing into the lake from the north, the hills on the eastern shore, and the valley of the Yang Pi river west of the Ts'ang Shan range. They are found in the region of Ho Ch'ing, north east of the Erh Hai lake, and in more scattered colonies as far west as the Mekong river. They thus occupy a wedge shaped territory which from the apex at the south end of Erh Hai lake to the base along the valley of the High Yang Tze near Shih Ku measures about one hundred miles from north to south, while the base of the triangle from Ho Ch'ing to the Mekong is approximately the same distance.

133 The whole region, part of the plateau of Yunnan, is extremely mountainous, the average altitude of the lake plateaux and valleys being from 6,000 to 8,000 ft., and the dividing ranges rising to 10,000 and 14,000 ft.
132 Although Yunnan is so high lying, the climate, as the meaning of the name—"south of the clouds"—implies, is mild and equable. The southern part of the province is within the tropics, but the country of the Min Chia, at latitude 25 North, lies just outside. Thus while the altitude moderates the heat of summer the sub-tropical latitude ensures a warm and sunny winter. Shade tem-

132 perature in summer rarely exceeds 80 degrees Fahrenheit, and the light ground frosts of winter are not severe enough to prevent the cultivation of oranges at 7,000 feet above sea level. The permanent snow line in western Yunnan is well over 14,000 ft., the altitude of T'sang Shan behind Ta Li city, for this mountain is free from snow at the end of June.

Western Yunnan lies in the area subject to the south west monsoon from the Indian Ocean and therefore has a climate and seasons rather different from the rest of China. There are in fact only three seasons: the Dry season, from the end of October to the end of March, when temperature is moderate by day and cold at night, is not quite without rainfall; at intervals of perhaps three to four weeks the sky becomes overcast for two or three days, a light drizzle falls on the plateaux and this becomes snow above 9,000 ft. These few cold spells, recurring three or four times in the dry season, are the only "winter" Yunnan knows. The second season, the Hot, lasts from the end of March to the end of May, or middle of June. Apart from occasional thunder showers the weather is dry and the sky clear, but shade temperature can rise to 85 degrees Fahrenheit by day and rarely falls below 60 degrees at night. The Rainy season, which completes the cycle, begins with the breaking of the monsoon, which may be as early as mid-May, or as late as the end of June. It lasts until October, which can be a very wet month, and heavy rains in November are not unknown, especially west of the Mekong-Salween divide. During these months temperature is much lower than in April, and spells of continuous rain lasting a week or nine days occur. Few days are without a shower, although an occasional dry week breaks the monotonous succession of wet days. The weather in this season, with its low or moderate temperature is not unlike a bad English summer.

AZURE MOUNTAIN AND EAR LAKE

Apart from the Rainy season, the climate of western /32 Yunnan with its lovely dry and sunny "winter" and its shorter warm spring is certainly one of the best in the world. There are no droughts; severe frosts are unknown, rainfall, though heavy in the wet season, is rarely excessive. These conditions, which are those of the Ta Li plain at 6,700 ft., are somewhat modified further north in the outlying regions of Min Chia occupation, the upper valley of the Yang Pi river and the district of Ho Ch'ing. Here the plateaux are higher, not under 8,000 ft., and the proximity of very high mountains on the border of Sikang or Chinese Tibet—the Yu Lung Shan range near Li Chiang exceeds 20,000 ft.—brings cold winds in winter and an increased rainfall at all seasons. Winter crops, which are grown on the Ta Li plain, cannot be raised sixty miles to the north at Chien Ch'uan in the upper Yang Pi valley, and heavy falls of snow can block passes at 12,000 ft. until April.

The plain of Ta Li, in reality a lake plateau, is a typical /33 example of a feature common to the whole of the Yunnan plateau region. Yunnan is geologically a shelf of the Tibetan massif jutting out far to the south east of the main Himalayan-Tibetan ranges. At the point where the main ranges, which to the north of India run roughly east to west, turn north to form the escarpment separating Tibet from China, there is a gap, as yet imperfectly mapped, through which the great rivers rising on the Tibetan plateau, break through southwards towards the sea. The Yunnan plateau divides these rivers, forcing the Brahmaputra, Irrawaddy, and Salween westward to the Indian Ocean, while the Mekong and Yang Tze flow south and east to the China Sea. The main plateau lies between the Yang Tze to the north east and the Mekong to the south west; it drains into these two rivers and into the two which rise on the Yunnan plateau itself, the West River which reaches the sea at

133 Canton, and the Red River which flows past Hanoi to the coast of Indo-China at Haiphong.

The plateau is ribbed from north to south by continuous ranges of steep and well wooded mountains divided by narrow valleys, which often become inaccessible gorges, but which here and there widen out into lake plateaux, some still occupied in part by large sheets of water, others now a fertile plain from which the lake has wholly drained away. These plateaux, the only areas where large scale cultivation and a numerous population are possible, are separated by mountain tracts virtually uninhabited, and still covered on their lower slopes with pine forest and scrub, on their crests with a dense rain forest of conifers, bamboo, rhododendron and large deciduous trees. Such ranges form barriers cutting off one lake plateau from another by as much as fifty miles of wilderness. In these valleys peoples of widely different culture, race and language for long lived in virtual isolation, which even to-day, after six centuries of Chinese rule, is but slightly disturbed by contacts with the outer world.

Between the Ts'ang Shan range—the Azure Mountain, and the Erh Hai—the Ear Lake, is one such plateau, thirty-five miles long, but only two to three miles wide. This is the Ta Li plain, so called from the city of Ta Li which stands two miles from the lake shore under the highest point of the towering Ts'ang Shan range, which rises 14,000 ft. above sea level, a full 7,000 ft. above the plain. The plain lies north and south, the mountain to the west, the lake to the east, beyond which there rises from the water itself a lower line of mountains enclosing the plateau on all sides.

At both the northern and southern ends of the plain the lake comes close to the base of the mountain narrowing the approaches to the plain to two famous passes, the Dragon's

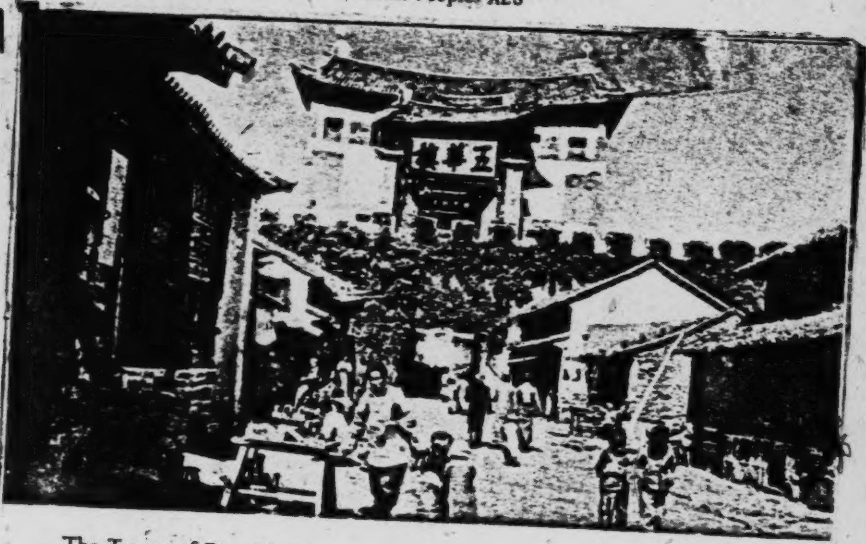
1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Bor'er Peoples AE3

Head Pass (Lung T'ou Kuan) at the northern end, where the ancient fortress of Shang Kuan, the Upper Fort, stands between the shore of the lake and a deep, impassable ravine, running up the flank of the mountain. An enemy coming down on Ta Li from the north by way of the Erh river valley could only reach the plain by forcing this strong position. At the southern extremity of the plain, nearly 35 miles from Shang Kuan, the outflow from the lake forces its way through a cleft in the Ts'ang Shan range, a passage so narrow that the stream is at one point bridged by a huge boulder wedged between the cliffs. This is the Dragon's Tail Pass (Lung Wei Kuan) through which passes the ancient caravan road to Burma, and to-day the just completed motor road. Where the outflow stream narrows at the mouth of this pass the swift current is crossed by a fine stone bridge, defended on both banks by the double fortress of Hsia Kuan, the Lower Fort, and this bridge and fortress is the only means of access to the Ta Li plain from the south and west.

The lake itself, roughly ear-shaped, thirty miles long and from two to five miles across, is deep and navigable, providing an easy means of communication from one end of the plain to the other, and also with the eastern shore, where mule paths wind through the rocky hills to the valleys leading to the High Yang Tze. Hsia Kuan, at the Dragon's Tail Pass, commands not only the east-west caravan road to Burma, but also the north-south road along the Ta Li plain, which is part of the principal caravan route between Eastern Tibet and the tea growing districts of southern Yunnan. It therefore has had for centuries a commercial importance equal to its strategic value.

To the west the immense wall of the Ts'ang Shan range blocks all access to the plain. Only one narrow track winds over the mountain and this, too narrow and steep for mules,

341



The Tower of Five Glories

Ta Li city and Erh Hai lake.

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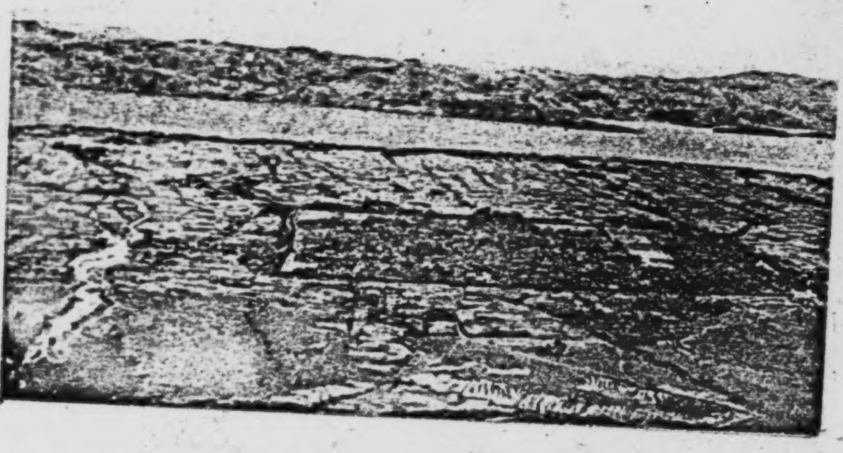

[Face p. 6]

183 and blocked by snow for six months of the year, is only used by wood cutters and charcoal burners. Elsewhere the knife edge crest of the range is so precipitous and so overgrown with dense rain forest as to be inaccessible. At a few points it is possible to reach the crest, but the western face being more precipitous than the eastern, it is never possible to cross the range.

162
635 Ten miles up the plain from Hsia Kuan is the city of Ta Li, capital of the *hsien* or county of the same name, and an important military and governmental centre for a wider region. Ta Li itself, a city of about 20,000 inhabitants,[1] is an ancient place, the capital in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. of the Kingdom of Nan Chao, which covered the greater part of the modern Yunnan province. As the centre of government it has a mixed population including Chinese Mohammedans, formerly more numerous than at present, immigrant Chinese from Ssu Ch'uan province, and mixed families of Chinese and Min Chia descent, but at least one third of the inhabitants of the city are Min Chias. The villages of the plain, of which there are more than one hundred, are entirely Min Chia, apart from a small number of Mohammedan villages.

133 The plain of Ta Li, though the most easily defended, is *not one of the largest or richest of the lake* plateaux of Yunnan. Approximately 100 square miles in area, it is much smaller than that of Yunnanfu (or K'un Ming) in the east of the province, or than the plain of Pao Shan to the west, from which the ancient lake has now disappeared. Cramped between the mountain and the lake the Ta Li plateau is nowhere more than three miles wide, and in many places the cultivable area is much narrower. On the other hand the high range to the west ensures a constant water supply, for

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[1] No census exists, but this figure is that generally given by inhabitants and officials of the place, and accords with a personal estimate.

133 the mountain streams which discharge into the lake are perennial, which is not the case on plateaux bordered by lower hills. Against this advantage must be set the strong winds which prevail in winter, due to the juxtaposition of a high mountain and a large sheet of water.

The area of good land is also diminished by the wide "fans" of rock-encumbered soil discharged by the mountain torrents at the point where they debouch on to the plain. This accumulation of boulders and detritus forms a continuous belt about a mile wide of rocky sloping land along the foot of the mountain. It has some value as grazing
312 land, but cannot be cultivated. As the streams leave the lower slopes they are carefully canalised and broken up into an infinity of small channels which distribute water to every plot of ground between the hill slopes and the lake shore. This work of irrigation, undoubtedly of great antiquity, has transformed what must once have been a marsh into a carefully graded series of terraces sloping almost imperceptibly to the lake. As a result the Min Chia farmer is really independent of the monsoon, for he can flood his rice fields from this system of water channels, fed by the perennial streams from Ts'ang Shan.

312 Curiously enough it is the land nearest the shore of the
134 lake which has most to fear from a late monsoon. The level of the lake varies as much as six feet between the dry season and the end of the rainy season, consequently in spring the water is some four to five feet below the level of the adjoining rice fields, which cannot be flooded from this source. As the fields nearer the mountain slopes tend to absorb all or most of the water from the mountain torrents, it sometimes happens that if the monsoon is late the fields nearest to the lake cannot be planted with rice until as much as three weeks after those nearer the mountain. The area adjoining the lake is further subject to some danger of

312 flooding in very wet years, when the water of the lake, un-
134 able to escape through the very narrow passage of the Dragon's Tail Pass, overflows on to the flat western shore. Unless the flood becomes so deep as to cover the ears of rice, this does no harm, and such exceptional depths are rare. Yet on account of these two risks the land nearest the lake shore, in appearance the best on the plain, is in fact of less value than fields nearer the mountain slopes.

134 Unlike almost all other parts of Yunnan the soil of the
Ta Li plain is not the red clay associated with the prevailing
Yunnan limestone rocks, but a heavy black soil due to the
fact that Ts'ang Shan is an upthrust of granite breaking
133 through the limestone cap of the Yunnan plateau. This geological peculiarity has one serious disadvantage, the frequency of severe earthquakes on the Ta Li plain. Slight shocks are common in the dry season, especially after one of the winter spells of drizzle, but a major earthquake in the spring of 1925 not only destroyed most of the city of Ta Li but caused much greater havoc and a very heavy loss of life in the lakeside villages, where a wave from the lake did further damage. Local records mention other severe earthquakes in previous centuries, but for many years before 1925 no serious shock had occurred, nor has there been a major earthquake since that date.

311 Apart from a narrow belt of willow groves along the lake
shore, where flooding is usual, the entire surface of the
plain is under cultivation. The villages as far as possible are
built on the shore itself, or on the lowest slopes of the
mountain, to free as much land as possible for the cultiva-
[491] tion of rice. Even the main caravan road, a stone-paved path about six feet wide, skirts the slopes of the mountain, and the paths leading to villages and fields are narrow and follow the dykes along irrigation channels. Very little land is devoted to market gardening, usually only such patches by

the lake shore as, having recently been reclaimed from the 311
water, are raised too high to be reached by the irrigation
channels. Rice is the main crop, the crop to which all
other cultivation is subordinated, to grow which the
topography of the plain has been laboriously remodelled.

In sharp contrast to the flat fertile western shore of the /133
lake, fringed with willow groves and prosperous villages, /132
the eastern shore rises abruptly from deep water, barren
rocky hills rising to about 8,500 feet, or 2,500 above the
lake. Not only the geology but also the climate is different
on this side of the water. The prevailing Yunnan limestone
here reappears, much weathered, and almost denuded of
soil and vegetation. Much of the surface of these eastern
hills is sharp weather-worn rock, with only small pockets
of red clay scattered among the outcrops. The height of
Ts'ang Shan to the west precipitates most of the rainfall, so
that the region east of the lake is altogether dryer and more
barren. Few trees grow on the eastern hills, and cultivation
is only possible in the rare valleys running down to the
lake. On the other hand the climate of these eastern hills [245]
is very suitable for fruit, and where sufficient soil exists
there are highly productive orchards growing pears,
peaches, and further east, citrus.

Towards the south-east corner of the lake the hills recede /133
leaving the small plain of Feng Yi along the shore of the /162
lake. This plain and the valleys running down from the
Ting Hsi Ling range—the Red River-Mekong Divide—is
the most southerly Min Chia territory, for east of the
Tung Hsi Ling no Min Chia are found in the plain of Mi Tu.[1]
The eastern border of the Min Chia country is somewhat

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[1] There are in fact a few villages of Min Chia scattered about the Districts of Mi Tu and Hung Ai. These are certainly immigrants from the Ta Li plain, probably settled there since the Mohammedan rebellion of the eighteen-seventies.

133 undefined, for while the plain of Pin Ch'uan, beyond the
162 eastern hills, is, as the name suggests, inhabited by immigrant
Ssu Ch'uanese, the hills themselves are for the most
[792] part uninhabited. The villages on the lands of the large and
famous monastery of Chu Sheng Ssu on Chi Tsu Shan, the highest mountain of the eastern range, which is over 11,000 feet, are inhabited by Min Chia, though the monks themselves are for the most part Chinese from far off provinces, and the place, to complete the ethnographic puzzle, is a centre of pilgrimage for the Tibetans.

To the north of the lake the rich valley of the Erh river, which fills the lake, and the small plain of Erh Yuan—"Source of the Erh"—are both Min Chia country, and though higher than the Ta Li plain, have a milder climate,
being sheltered from the strong winds off Ts'ang Shan.
[317] The plain of Erh Yuan, also a minor lake plateau, has
numerous hot springs strongly impregnated with sulphur,
which is extracted in a primitive manner and sold as a medicine.
[197] Northwards yet, beyond a range of 9,000 ft. mountains,
the valley of the Yang Pi river and its lake plateau of Chien Ch'uan forms the last important settlement of Min Chia, who, however, speak a dialect of that language which is not easily intelligible to the men of Ta Li. In the short distance of sixty miles which separates the two plateaux, the isolating factors of bad communications and mountains, have effectively divided the peoples of Ta Li and Chien Ch'uan.

361 Although the Min Chia are surrounded by other peoples, Chinese immigrants such as the Ssu Ch'uanese settlers to the east in the plain of Pin Ch'uan, or non-Chinese peoples, such as the Na Khi (or Mo So) in the Li Chiang district to the north, they can hardly be said to be in close contact with these neighbours, since the centres of population in the rich plateaux are separated by wide tracts of almost

uninhabited hill country. Communications by pack horse 361
road are slow and rough, and as the transport of goods by 489
this means becomes expensive for any considerable distance,
each valley lives as far as possible off its own produce. In 631
sharp contrast to this economic "autarky" the whole country is politically unified, being a province of the Chinese Republic and entirely subject to the authority of the provincial government in Yunnanfu (K'un Ming). The province is sub-divided into *hsien*, or Districts, somewhat smaller than an English county, and the area occupied by the Min Chia can be defined politically as the eight Districts of Ta Li, Feng Yi (Chao chou), Teng Ch'uan, Erh Yuan, Chien Ch'uan, Ho Ch'ing, Lan P'ing and Yun Lung. The area east of the lake falls partly within the jurisdiction of Pin Ch'uan, which is not mainly a Min Chia district, and similarly the districts of Lan P'ing and Yun Lung to the west contain areas not inhabited by Min Chia. The political boundaries do not follow racial limits, being based on geographical features.

It is more than six centuries since the conquest of the 175
kingdom of Nan Chao by Kubla Khan, Emperor of the Yuan 563
or Mongol dynasty, brought western Yunnan into the Chinese Empire, where it has since remained in spite of the changes of dynasty which followed. To what extent the kingdom of Nan Chao, which had its capital at Ta Li, can be described as a Min Chia kingdom will be discussed in a later chapter; here all that need be said is that it is certain that the inhabitants of the Ta Li plain, the Min Chia, were not barbarians at the time of the Chinese conquest, and this fact differentiates them from most of the other tribes of Yunnan. The Min Chia are rice farmers, occupying for choice the best rice lands available, only rarely dwelling on the mountains, and unskilled in the types of husbandry appropriate for mountaineers. Almost all the other non-

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

175 563 Chinese tribes on the high plateau of Yunnan are found in the hills, while the valleys and plateaux are in the hands of Chinese settlers or absorbed peoples now Chinese in language and custom.[1] It is safe to assume that when the Mongol emperors and their successors, the Chinese Mings, conquered Nan Chao they found the rice lands of the Ta Li plain already fully exploited by an industrious and skilled race of farmers, whom it was more profitable to tax than to expropriate.

101 563 They therefore called them the "Min Chia", the "plebeians", the "common people", a term less of contempt than to distinguish the indigenous population with its strange language from the Chinese officials, soldiers and merchants who settled in Ta Li city, and before long intermarried with the people of the soil. The name Min Chia is thus Chinese, and not that used by the people themselves when speaking their own language. They call themselves, according to district, by several names generically related. Those of the Ta Li plain use mostly the term "Shua Bër Ni" meaning "speakers of the white (language)",[2] elsewhere Bër Dser, "White People", or in the western district of

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[1] The exceptions to this rule are the Na Khi or Mo So of the Li Chiang district, and the Shans of the Burma border region. In the first case, the Li Chiang area on the northern border of Yunnan is the most remote of the lake plateaux from Chinese influence. It was also the seat of a powerful local kingdom, and it seems probable therefore that Chinese rule there was not strong enough to oust a people of fairly high culture. The Shans occupy the low plateaux west of the Salween, a country which the Chinese find very unhealthy and in which they are unwilling to settle. It is noteworthy that where the plateaux are higher, as at Teng Yueh, once a Shan state, the Chinese have taken possession.

[2] In Min Chia "white" *Ber*, does not have the meaning "plain" "intelligible" that the Chinese *Pai* carries. Therefore *Shua Ber Ni* does not mean "plain speakers" as opposed to unintelligible speech, as the Chinese *Pai Hua*, literally "white language", does mean.

Yun Lung, "Bër Wa Dser," probably the oldest term, 101
meaning "People of the White King". None of these 563
names refer to the colour of the skin, for the Min Chia, like the Chinese, are unacquainted with the use of "white" as a descriptive term for one of the races of mankind. To them people of all the races of eastern Asia and of Europe are the same in colour, only Indians (and presumably Negroes if they were ever to see one) being described as "black men". This attitude is not incorrect. Among the light skinned mountain peoples of western China it is not the colour of the skin, but the black hair and Mongolian features of the face which differentiate them from Europeans.

The origin of the use of the term "white" in connection with the Min Chia is not known to the people themselves. Some suggest that it is in fact derived from that mysterious ruler, the "White King", concerning whom there are certain legends. The name, like the current Chinese term for the Shans, "Pai I" meaning "white clothes" may have referred to an earlier fashion for dressing in white. The Min [29]
Chia do not now do so, but nor for that matter do the Shans either. In common parlance the imprecision of these names does not matter, for it is not so much race as language which is present as the differentiating factor in the minds of the people—does a man "Speak White" i.e. Min Chia, or "Speak Han" i.e. Chinese. The situation is the exact converse of that found, in say, Wales. Whether a man speaks Welsh or not he is "Welsh", if born of stock long resident in Wales. In Ta Li if a man speaks Min Chia, he is Min Chia, if he does not, he is "Chinese"—even though his mother is well known to be Min Chia both by descent and by language.

The fact, so rare and refreshing to-day as to be almost 563
disturbing to the European, is that here the nationality com- 554
plex does not exist. People of widely sundered racial origin 829
are not only not differentiated on this basis, but are barely

563 conscious of this factor as marking them off from their
554 neighbours. Language and education, or the lack of it, are
829 the accepted standards for determining the status of the
individual. No political discrimination divides the Chinese settler or official from the natives of the land. If a Min Chia is able to read and write Chinese—as many are—then he is eligible for every post that a Chinese could fill, and this applies also to the less civilised tribes of Yunnan. The "Chinese", so called, resident in Ta Li, apart from a few merchants from Ssu Ch'uan who are recent immigrants, are in fact all partly of Min Chia descent.

The only partial exception to this attitude towards race is found in the case of the Moslem population, a historical curiosity, for this community is descended from the mercenary Central Asiatic soldiery used by the Mongol Emperors in their conquest of Yunnan. The Moslems, still keeping to the essential practices of their religion, form a group apart. They speak no language but Chinese or Min Chia, but they neither intermarry with the non-Moslem population, nor partake of hospitality at a non-Moslem table. Once numerous and powerful, their strength was broken after the failure of the great Moslem rebellion in Yunnan in 1874, when many thousands were slaughtered. To day they form a not unprosperous community mainly engaged in trade and transport, although they also own land and breed stock. For the most part they are "Chinese speakers" although four or five villages of Min Chia speaking Moslems are scattered about on the Ta Li plain. These are certainly of mixed race, the progeny of the original soldier settlers and the women of the country. None the less a physical type persists; aquiline features are quite common among the Moslems of Yunnan.

186 The lack of any strong national feeling among the Min
197 Chia has led many travellers to regard them as an absorbed

people hardly to be distinguished from the Chinese, and the 186
fact that many Ta Li Min Chia are bi-lingual, or have a store 197
of "market Chinese" has strengthened this impression. It is
none the less false. The language itself, though using many 197
Chinese loan words, pronounces them in accordance with definite rules, and in a manner unintelligible to the Chinese, while more than half the vocabulary and the grammar of Min Chia is wholly unlike the Chinese language. As it is not and never has been a written language it has no doubt changed very extensively in the course of centuries, but a critical examination of the vocabulary and grammar shows that three elements originally quite distinct are found in the Min Chia language of to-day. These elements may be classified as :—

(1) A non-Sinitic polysyllabic language which may be called "Old Min Chia".

(2) Monosyllabic words resembling Cantonese, perhaps "old Chinese" loan words.

(3) Chinese loan words, derived from the Yunnanese dialect of Mandarin but which are pronounced in a Min Chia manner according to set rules.

These three elements are used, broadly, for three different categories of words. "Old Min Chia" words for example are confined to simple and primary ideas, the most used verbs, the names of animals, plants and parts of the body, and the prepositions. Many of these Old Min Chia words are polysyllabic, or it would be more accurate to say, appear to be so. As Min Chia has never been written down it is only possible to distinguish between monosyllabic words and polysyllabic by analysing the syllables which compose the latter class. If these syllables are not identifiable as words in themselves, then the word is classed as a polysyllabic word, and where the syllables can be shown to be separate words combined to make a compound word, such words are not here classed as truly polysyllabic.

An example will make this distinction clear.

Gudaiji, the Min Chia word for "throat" is a polysyllable, because neither *gu* nor *dai* nor *ji* can be shown in this instance to be separate words in themselves. *Dao-ser-dser-domo*, the long Min Chia word for the "thumb" can, on the other hand, be proved to be a compound word composed of three separate words, *dao*, "big", *ser-dser* a "finger" and *domo* "before", the whole word really meaning "before the big finger"—an interesting proof that the Min Chia word for thumb explicitly recognises the essential value of that little limb, the fact of its apposition to the long finger.

The second large element in the Min Chia language is the class of monosyllabic words faintly resembling their Chinese counterparts, which I have named "Old Chinese Loan Words". The resemblance between this class and Cantonese words of the same meaning is often close, and as it is generally recognised that Cantonese retains many old forms of Chinese pronunciation, it is perhaps not incorrect to attribute this class of Min Chia words to borrowing from Chinese at an earlier period, when the spoken language of the Chinese settlers in Yunnan was more like modern Cantonese than modern Mandarin.

Many names of animals are found in this class as are also the points of the compass and some verbs, usually of the more abstract type.

In such words as *der*, "east" and *ser* a "rat" the connection with the Chinese forms *tung* and *shu* is slight, but *ber*, "north" *sai* "west" *gai* a "chicken" and *gai* a "bowl", also *ngur* a "cow" and *mer* a "horse" are not far from their Chinese and Cantonese equivalents, as a table of comparison will show.

Min Chia	*Chinese and Cantonese*		*English*
ber	po		north
sai	hsi	sai	west
gai	chi	gai	chicken
gai		gai	bowl
ngur	niu		cow
mer	ma	ma	horse

The third, and perhaps almost the largest class of Min Chia words are loan words from Yunnanese Mandarin, a slightly variant dialect of the widespread speech of all western and northern China. Such words in Min Chia cover all modern terms, Chinese place names, many of the abstract nouns and verbs, and a large class of common nouns covering many of the objects and utensils of ordinary life.

Though quite easily identified as Chinese in origin such words would not for the most part be understood by a Chinese unacquainted with Min Chia, for loan words are changed and pronounced by the Min Chia in accordance with their own rules. There is no final *n* or *ng* in Min Chia, and these common Chinese terminals are dropped in the loan words. Min Chia has also very few initial *n* words, the *n* being changed to *l* as in many parts of South China. But whereas Chinese words such as *wang* and *nan* are pronounced by the Min Chia simply as *wa* and *la*, those which end in *ing* or *eng* become in Min Chia *iu* and *o*. Thus Nan King is in Min Chia *La Chiu*, unrecognisable to a Chinese, but none the less a Chinese loan term. *Ch'en* becomes *tso*, and *Ch'eng* also. *Sheng Ch'eng* the Chinese colloquial term for the "Provincial Capital" is *So Tso* to the Min Chia.

A short vocabulary of Min Chia words of the three types with their Chinese counterparts will illustrate both the affinities and the wide differences between the two languages.

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

OLD MIN CHIA

Min Chia	*Chinese*	*English*
197 Dilulu	ying	hawk
192 Digulai	Ch'iao shu	squirrel
Salagai	huang shu	locust
Serdserler	hai tzu	boy
Niepi	Jih, yat	sun
Shier	no separate term	day
Gao	hu, hai	lake or sea
Lao	shang	on
Dso	shang	up
Urdaobai	hou	behind
Boru	hou	after
Gupu	chiao	leg

OLD CHINESE LOAN WORDS

Min Chia	*Chinese*	*English*
Kwa	Kou	Dog
Sur	Shan	Mountain
Mo	Meng	Dream

YUNNANESE LOAN WORDS

Min Chia	*Chinese*	*English*
Zer do	Chih tao	know
Wai Shieh	Wei hsien	danger
Dsua jia	Chuang chia	crops
Tsu miu	Tsung ming	intelligence
Mier dser	Ming tzu	life
Yao jiu	Yao chin	important
Fa ni	Fa lu	law
Da biu	Tang ping	to enlist as a soldier
Gai bieh	Kai pien	to change

It will be observed that Min Chia is much richer than 197 Chinese in prepositions, and that these words are invariably of the "Old Min Chia" type. In Min Chia indeed there are prepositions for all shades of meanings ; on, onto, up, upon; and back, behind, after ; are distinguished as in English, whereas Chinese uses one word for these ideas. On the other hand Min Chia appears to have lacked most of the abstract nouns, and even words for such a common and vital activity as farming, perhaps a proof that in the earliest times the Min Chia were not an agricultural people. The names of most of the domestic animals, except the pig, are also "Old Chinese" and this may suggest that the Min Chia at one time had no other livestock.

Grammatically there are also certain marked differences 198 between Chinese and Min Chia. In Min Chia the adjective 197 may precede or follow the noun, the choice depending on euphony, whereas in Chinese it always comes first. Thus a fat pig and a fat goose in Min Chia are respectively *go dai a der* and *O a der go* and no rule can be framed to cover this usage. The preposition follows the noun, as in Chinese, although this is not necessary to distinguish meaning as in Chinese, because the Min Chia prepositions are differentiated. (*Shan shang*—on the mountain, in Chinese, *Shang shan*, the upper mountain, or to go up the mountain). Unlike the Chinese, the Min Chia put the negative after the noun or verb. *Bai mu*—not going, *hu mu*—not good, whereas in Chinese the reverse would be the case. In Min Chia the pronouns are still declined, there being a nominative, accusative, genitive, and dative case, not found in any other nouns, and non-existent now in Chinese. The Min Chia, of course, even those with Chinese education, are unaware of this fact, since they have no knowledge of grammatical terms, but a study of the usage of the pronoun words makes it clear that declensions exist.

193 Both languages use the device which has been called
197 "numerical adjuncts" or "classifiers" unknown to European tongues, but familiar from the pidgin English expression "one piecee" preceding the noun. In Chinese the most part of the nouns use the classifier *i ke* which pidgin English has translated as "one piecee" but certain others exist also. In Min Chia the variety is extreme. More than sixty separate classifiers are in use (there may be many more) and of these only twelve are used for more than one or two nouns, and the greater number are only applied to a single noun. There are about six in which the application can be strictly covered by a rule, for example all animals have the classifier *a der* which follows the noun, not as in Chinese preceding it. *Mer a der*= a horse, *mer sa der* = three horses. *A ni*, the classifier for human beings is applied not only to the word for man, woman, etc, but also to nouns describing vocations, which is not the colloquial Chinese practice, e.g. *biu a ni* = a soldier. Two exceptions to this rule for animals and humans exist. Bandits are given the classifier *a der* thus ranking them with the animals and insects, and spirits and gods have the human *a ni* classifier. Malignant ghosts *ger* are on the other hand given *a der*, like animals, perhaps a distinction having the same origin as the *hun* and *po*, the spiritual and animal souls of men which the ancient Chinese distinguished.

563 That the Min Chia are therefore a distinct people is established, and as will be shown in subsequent chapters, their social and kinship systems show radical differences from the Chinese, while their religion retains many features unknown to China proper. Nor is there much evidence to connect them at all closely with the neighbouring non-Chinese peoples of Yunnan. The Na Khi or Mo So who border on the Min Chia to the north speak a very different language and their religion and social customs are equally distinct. All

that the two peoples have in common comes either from the 563 similar conditions of their economy or from the common contact with Chinese culture since the conquest.[1]

The Li Su tribe, one of the largest, but most scattered in Yunnan, are found to the west and north west of the Min Chia country, whose markets they occasionally frequent. This people, definitely on a lower cultural level than the Min Chia, speak a distinct language, much broken up into dialects, which is in no way closely related to the Min Chia speech.[2] In religion they also differ widely, and being hill-men who rarely cultivate rice, their social and economic systems are quite unlike those of the rice farming Min Chia.

To the south east of the Ta Li plateaux, in the lofty Ting Hsi Ling range a people variously described as Lolos or Tu Li occupy the tract of country dividing the Chinese settled plain of Mi Tu from the Min Chia of the Erh Hai basin. It has been suggested by missionaries who have visited some of their villages, that these people also may be an offshoot of the Li Su, and not Lolos, a name which if used at all, should be applied to the No Su[3] found in north eastern Yunnan. This tribe also has no affinities with the Min Chia.

The possibility cannot be ignored that the Min Chia are related to the Shans, or Tai race, which covers so much of the south west of Asia, from Siam through southern Yunnan and eastern Burma even into Kuei Chou province. The

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[1] Rock, Dr. Ancient Nakhi Kingdom of Yunnan.

[2] This was the opinion of the late Mr. Fraser, of the China Inland Mission, who devised the Fraser Script for writing the Li Su language, of which he had the most thorough knowledge. His view was communicated to the author in Ta Li, 1938.

[3] The opinion of Mr. H. Owen, of the China Inland Mission, Ta Li. The term Lo Lo is Ssu-chuanese slang meaning a basket, and is at best a popular west Chinese term for any non-Chinese people, used quite loosely and without precise application. It is only Europeans who have attached this name to the No Su rather than to any other tribe.

563 costume of the Shan women in western Yunnan is not unlike that of the northern division of the Min Chia dwelling on the plateau of Chien Ch'uan. Both peoples are rice farmers and avoid the wooded mountains which they leave to the Li Su 276 or other tribes. The Shans to-day practise the custom of betel-nut chewing, which the Min Chia do not, but it is interesting to read that as late as fifty years ago and less, the Min Chia had this habit, which was observed by early English travellers in western Yunnan.[1] Finally Ta Li was the capital of the Nan Chao Kingdom of which the ruling family was certainly Shan, originally the lords of Meng Hua, a city south of the Min Chia country.

163 It has been suggested that the name "Ta Li" in Min Chia *Dai Lai* is of Shan origin, which is not unlikely, seeing that the city was founded by one of the Shan Nan Chao kings.

563 If "The White King", the Min Chia legendary hero, who has none the less a real royal tomb near Ta Li, be identified with one of the Nan Chao kings, then the association of the Min Chia with the Shans is close. But no sense of kinship with the Shans of western Yunnan is now felt by the Min Chia. They are not themselves in contact with any Shan tribe, for the nearest settlements of that people are in the Salween valley fifteen stages west of the Min Chia country. Thus if they are in fact an outlying colony of the Tai race they have lost all sense of community with the parent body, and are now in sentiment more allied to the Chinese.

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[1] Across Chryse. A. R. Colquhoun. Vol. II, Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, London, 1883.

CHAPTER 2

THE RICE STANDARD

RICE IS THE real standard of wealth among the Min Chia. 436
Direct barter of rice for commodities is common, rents 243
are paid and calculated in rice, and rice producing land is
the chief investment of the wealthy, and the principal source
of revenue for the government. No other crop compares 243
with rice either in actual value or in the estimation of the 311
people. Land which is unsuitable for rice cultivation is
hardly regarded as anything better than waste. In consequence of this preoccupation with the rice crop the Min
Chia neglect the development of other forms of agriculture
and have failed to exploit all the possibilities of land on
which rice cannot be grown.

The Min Chia are rarely if ever found on land where rice cultivation is impossible, they avoid the mountains, and when the excess of population makes its impossible for all to engage in rice farming, they prefer to emigrate to distant parts of the Province rather than cultivate other crops upon the mountain sides. Whether this is to be explained as the failure of an immigrant people of lowland origin to adapt itself to the life of mountaineers, or as the whole-hearted conversion of a people, once pastoral hillmen, to the advantages of intensive agriculture, there is no direct evidence to show. The Min Chia lack any tradition of immigration to their present home, and it may be regarded as certain that they have practised their present mode of life for at least seven centuries.

Although there is thus an ancient tradition in support of 243
rice farming, and an almost psychological aversion to living
on the mountains, there are also strong economic arguments

243

Ploughing flooded rice fields.

Transplanting rice seedlings.

[Face p.24]

243 in favour of rice cultivation. The yield of rice, very much higher per acre than that of wheat or maize, the alternative cereal crops, enables a larger population to live in a restricted area. Furthermore, the climate of Ta Li (though not of the northern Min Chia areas) makes it possible to grow wheat and beans on the rice lands in winter, so that two crops a year can be harvested off the same land. A comparatively small holding of rice land, ten Chinese acres (*mu*) or an English acre and a half, is sufficient to support a family of five persons.[1] Consequently there was little incentive to undertake the cultivation of maize or fruit on the mountain sides while population still remained low, or fresh rice land in adjoining valleys was easily available. When these conditions ceased to apply the tradition of rice farming had secured so strong a hold upon the people that they preferred to emigrate to great distances rather than abandon their manner of life.

243 311 423 Other considerations have combined to enhance the value of rice land and reinforce the hold which the "rice standard" has obtained on the Min Chia mind. Since the area suitable for rice is limited, and was long ago brought under cultivation, good land has a[illegible]ed a scarcity value, and this in turn has been enhanced by the universal will to ownership. The poor seek to buy land even at great sacrifice, the rich regard land purchase as the only safe investment. To be landless is regarded as a grave misfortune, and even to have to rent additional land is considered regrettable. It is of course true that in a community without banks or joint stock companies, land is the best investment, indeed the only really safe one. Land will survive most calamities. Fire may destroy merchandise or a hoard of treasure, and insu

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804 [1] The *Mu* or Chinese Acre by which land all over China is measured, is not, however a fixed unit. The *Mu* varies slightly in every district, and even in different villages. In Yunnan the equivalent of $\frac{1}{6}$ of an English acre to the *Mu* is approximately correct for the Ta Li district.

243 ance is unknown. War or banditry may ruin a merchant, but
311 a farmer will probably come through a period of disorder at
423 least with his land intact and sufficient part of the crop to
live on. Although public order in western Yunnan is now well maintained, it was not always so; even within the memory of men still quite young the roads were unsafe and one could not venture a few miles from the city without running the risk of robbery.

The peculiarity of the Min Chia system is not therefore the high value placed on land itself, but the exclusive preference for rice lands. If the lack of public security in the past was the only reason for high land values it would apply as much to the mountains as to the plain, indeed perhaps more, for the inhabitants of a mountain district would be too remote to suffer much risk of robbery or pillage at the hands of soldiery. The mountain lands, however, are not regarded as worth anything at all, they are not even owned. The whole surface of the mountain and its lower slopes is public land, or in other words free to all comers, waste, neither subject to rent nor tax. Yet, though certainly useless for rice cultivation, these lands if terraced could grow other crops, and are in fact covered with wild fruit bushes and forest.

The Min Chia therefore revolve in an economic vicious circle of their own making: rice cultivation alone is regarded as worth while, but as the area of suitable land is restricted it has become very valuable, and being valuable is regarded as the most desirable investment, which reinforces the importance attached to rice cultivation. Meanwhile, overlooking the rice plain of Ta Li, is a vast tract of waste land, certainly capable of exploitation, but which, being
438 mountain, the Min Chia farmer entirely ignores. Since the
435 whole of Yunnan, in common with the rest of south China,
511 also produces rice, and for the most part in sufficient quan-

438 tity to supply the local markets, rice can never be an export
435 crop for the Min Chia farmer. A quantity is sent up to Li
511 Chiang and Chien Ch'uan, which having a colder climate, are
less productive; but the cost of transporting rice on mule back, the only means of transport, is so high that this trade can never develop on a large scale. Therefore, in a good year the price of rice at Ta Li falls very low and the farmer's purchasing power declines proportionately ; in a bad year the quantity of rice harvested is not sufficient to provide an export surplus, and the poorer farmers, after paying their rice rents, have difficulty in living off the remainder of the crop, and cannot afford to make other purchases. The rice standard is therefore a check on trade and a factor causing the standard of living to remain low.

249 The Min Chia, who are in most respects a practical and hard headed people, were not unaware of these disadvantages, and sought to escape from them by producing an export crop which would not interfere with the cultivation of rice, and would yet command a good price in distant markets. Such a crop must have a high value for small bulk, for as it must be transported for at least two weeks on mule back to reach any market of importance (either Yunnanfu or Burma) no bulky inexpensive commodity would show a profit after the costs of transport were deducted. Such a crop they found in opium, which was introduced into Yunnan in the first half of the nineteenth century. Opium admirably fulfilled the conditions outlined above. It was planted on the rice lands as a winter crop, harvested in May before the rice seedlings are transplanted. Therefore it did not interfere with rice cultivation. It was light and fetched a very high price in the markets of Yunnanfu whence it was transported to other parts of China. It thus provided the Min Chia with, from their point of view, the perfect export crop, which brought outside money into the closed economy of Ta Li and

enabled the farmer to buy the products of other regions for cash. 249

It is an ironical fact that the efforts of the Central Government of China, urged on by the moral pressure of the rest of 249 the world, to do good, should have resulted in the infliction 185 of great economic damage and hardship, at least temporarily. 276 In 1935 the Central Government, inspired by the reforming ardour of General and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, introduced its plan for the gradual suppression of opium cultivation throughout the Chinese Republic. The Provincial Government of Yunnan, in spite of the prospect of severe loss of revenue, was induced to co-operate, and the suppression plan was applied. Learning from the disastrous consequences of the earlier attempt at opium suppression undertaken by the Manchu Dynasty in 1910, the authorities made no attempt to prohibit cultivation at once and everywhere. The plan provided for the suppression by *hsien* or administrative districts, and was applied in two stages. In the first year warning was published that suppression was to come into force. No fresh planting was to be permitted, but if opium crops were raised from old plants, no action was taken. In the spring of the second year public proclamations announced the application of the second stage of rigorous suppression. Farmers were warned to weed their fields, for if so much as one poppy were found growing in a field, the field was to be confiscated to the public lands.

This plan was applied to Ta Li and the other Min Chia areas in 1936 (first stage) and in 1937 the second rigorous stage of suppression was carried out. From the summer of 1937 there has been no opium poppy grown in the Min Chia region, nor in the other *hsien* of western Yunnan as far north as Wei Hsi and from Yunnanfu westwards to Teng Yueh.[1]

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[1] Personal observation. The *hsien* of Wei Hsi and Chu Tien in the valley of the High Yang Tze came within the scope of the scheme one year later than Ta Li and Chien Ch'uan.

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

249 185 276 It speaks well for the influence of the Central Government in a remote area, and for the authority of the Provincial Government of Yunnan and its officers, that this campaign of opium suppression has been carried out with perfect success and without occasioning revolts, lawlessness or open resistance, although it has vitally affected the entire population of Yunnan, very much to their immediate detriment.

249 185 276 458 No one will seriously question the right and duty of the government to suppress the cultivation of opium as the only sure way of eventually suppressing the consumption of the drug and freeing the Chinese people from an undoubted evil. No one, either, who has lived in western China will doubt their courage in undertaking a task both difficult and highly unpopular. That the nation will ultimately derive great benefit from the ending of the opium habit is incontestable; but that the immediate effects in western Yunnan have been most serious is also unquestionable. In the absence of any alternative export crop to replace opium, and the absence of communications making any more bulky export commercially profitable, the result of suppression has been a profound economic depression in the areas affected. Land values fell by one third in 1936, and in that and subsequent years business at the great fairs in and near Ta Li, when the Min Chia make their annual purchases of goods produced abroad or on the coast, fell to a fraction of that done in former years.

248 185 Against this must be set the efforts of the government to provide a new export crop and develop communications. It is probable that had not the war with Japan absorbed the energies and the money of the government in the national struggle these efforts would have been more effective than they have been. An attempt has been made to introduce the cultivation of cotton. This has made some small progress in other districts, but the climate and soil of Ta Li are not suitable, and cotton growing could not be attempted there.

able, and cotton growing could not be attempted there. Silk, 231
which can also be conveniently and profitably transported 185
long distances on mule back, has been suggested. A few families on the Ta Li plain have taken up cocoon raising, but the technique is not generally understood, there are no large groves of mulberry trees, and many years will be needed before the production of silk can be of any commercial importance. So far the Min Chia have found no alternative to the opium crop. The government, as is now well known, have 489
completed the remarkable motor road from Yunnanfu to Burma, which is connected with Ta Li by a short branch. The road was built by forced labour and as a war measure. A railway, which however will not pass within forty miles of Ta Li, is now under construction. The eventual benefits of these improved communications will no doubt be felt by the Min Chia, but at present they are more conscious of the demands on their time and energies.

The suppression of opium has therefore left the Min Chia 243
for the present at the mercy of the rice standard, unalleviated by any cash crop raised for export. It is the working of this almost closed economy, as yet unaffected by any serious volume of intercourse with the outside world, which forms the subject of this chapter. Since rice is the dominating factor in this system it must have pride of place.

The method of rice cultivation is well known, nor do the Min Chia differ in this respect from other rice growing peoples. The rice is grown in seed beds planted in the latter part of March, the second lunar month, when frost need no longer be expected. The fields are cleared of the wheat and bean crop in May, and are then ploughed in readiness for the flooding, which is either effected by irrigation on land nearest the mountain, or by the monsoon rains which begin, on the average, at the end of May. As soon as the fields are flooded the rice seedlings are transplanted from the seed

243 beds, an arduous task for which all the labour of the village, men and women, is needed. Once the transplanting is over, the crop, apart from a little weeding, is left to grow until it matures in October. The harvest at Ta Li is usually ripe by the beginning of November, when the fields are drained, and the crop gathered. One kind of rice, which has become popular in recent years owing to its higher yield, is called "Tiao Ku," "Dropping rice" because the grain falls very readily when ripe, and therefore has to be threshed in the fields and cannot be carried back to the farm house. Large baskets are taken out to the fields and the grain is beaten out into them as the sheaves are reaped. The usual method with other kinds of rice is to bring the sheaves back to the village where they are threshed on a prepared floor with the flail. The rice is then taken to the mill to be husked, or stored
316 until required. Husking is always done at a water mill on the Ta Li plain, as the abundant water power makes the use of the treadmill found in other parts of Yunnan unnecessary.

804 In the vicinity of Ta Li it is calculated that in a normal year one *mu* yields from ten to twelve Chinese pecks or *tou* of rice. The *tou*, like other weights and measures in Yunnan varies from one locality to the next, for though it is always made up of ten *sheng* or measures, these in turn contain a varying number of rice bowls, which being the only constant measure are the best standard for comparison. The following table sets out the measures as used in the Ta Li district and their equivalents in English measures.

Measures and weights compared

12 bowls = 1 *sheng* = 9 lb avoirdupois
120 bowls = 1 *tou* = 90 lb ,,

243 One sixth of an English acre (one *mu*) produces on average ten *tou* or 900 lbs of rice. If it be calculated that each member of a family consumes daily eight bowls of rice (four at

each of the two meals) it requires approximately 25 *tou* to 243
feed one man for a year, or 125 *tou* to feed a family of five persons. Taking the yield of the *mu* at 12 *tou* per year it follows that the produce of 10 *mu* (1 and 2-3rds English acres) is just sufficient to feed a family of five persons, but allows no margin for other expenditure. As the winter wheat crop also brings in a certain return it is possible for a family to live off 10 *mu*, which is confirmed by the testimony of Min Chia farmers themselves, who state that 10 *mu* is in fact the minimum holding necessary for a family to be self sufficient.

A poor farmer owning only 10 *mu* must however set aside 243
one *tou* of his yield as seed grain, it being calculated that one 427
tou of seed grain is sufficient to sow ten *mu*. It follows that most families having only 10 *mu* must in practice rent more land. Rents are paid in kind, at the rate of from five to six *tou* per *mu* of the rice crop and half a *tou* of wheat. Beans are not accepted as rent for the winter crop, wheat rents being calculated at about one tenth of rice rents, although the cash value of wheat is usually about one fifth of the price of rice out of season, and one tenth the price of rice just after the wheat harvest.

Large holdings are unknown in the Ta Li region, but many 243
families have more than the minimum ten *mu*. Holdings of 423
more than fifty *mu* are almost unknown, forty *mu* is the average of the most wealthy, and from this upper limit all gradations down to those who have less than five *mu*, under one English acre, are to be found. These small holdings are explained partly by the long process of subdivision occasioned by the break up of families, partly by the very high price of
the land. The best rice land, that lying midway between the 434
mountain and the lake, sells, even since the fall of values 243
after opium suppression, for 200 Yunnan silver dollars the 423
mu. At the rate of exchange prevailing before the war with Japan started, the Yunnan silver dollar was worth about

434 ninepence, consequently the price of one *mu* expressed in
243 sterling would be £7 10s. od. or £45 os. od. per acre. This
423 price means of course very much more in terms of the pur-
436 chasing power of the Min Chia farmer. Before going further
652 it may be as well as to say something about the currency used in western Yunnan and its equivalent values in sterling. In recent years the wide diversity of currencies in circulation in different parts of China have been abolished wherever the rule of the Central Government became effective, and a standard system of dollars and cents, the dollar being worth in normal times about 1s. 2d., has been introduced. This is called the National Currency. Unfortunately it has only just begun to reach Yunnan where the old chaos of varying currencies still exists, by no means simplified by the addition of yet another. There are in fact now five meanings to the word "dollar" in Yunnan : The National Dollar, the Yunnan Silver Dollar (supposed to be withdrawn from circulation but still in use in remote districts), the new Yunnan paper dollar, worth half a National Dollar ; the Old Yunnan paper dollar, worth only a tenth of the National Dollar ; and the Nickel dollar, of ten nickel cents, which only circulates in west Yunnan, has no actual existence (i.e. there is no such coin) and is worth about three pence. This last, the most local, is in fact the currency in which Ta Li prices are calculated, except for land, which is usually priced in Yunnan Silver dollars. It will be convenient therefore to express all prices in the nickel currency, but the following table of equivalents may be referred to.

YUNNAN CURRENCIES

Exchange rates of 1937

1 \$ Nat. = 2 \$ New Paper = 10 \$ Old Paper = 1*s*. 2*d*. sterling
1 \$ Yunnan Silver = 3 \$ Nickel = 0*s*. 9*d*. ,,
1 \$ Nickel = 10 nickel cents = 3*d*. ,,

THE RICE STANDARD

Since the war with Japan began the National Currency has 436 fallen in relation to sterling, but the internal purchasing power of the local currency has hardly altered at all. Therefore it is better to express the value of the local currency in sterling in accordance with the rate of exchange prevailing before the war, in the first half of 1937.

In calculating the value of the yield of any farm in the Ta 434 Li region it must be remembered, that as rice cannot be exported in any quantity owing to the high cost and inadequate nature of the transport, when the crop is good the price is low, and when the price is high, it is because the yield is poor. The Min Chia farmer therefore never gets the maximum return from his land which is theoretically possible, and an estimate of the income derived from rice farming must take account of this. We may take the harvest of 1938 as an example. The year was good, the crop abundant ; consequently the price of rice was low, seven nickel cents to the *sheng*, or about 2½*d*. for nine lbs. The yield was high, twelve *tou* to the *mu*, therefore,

One *tou* of ten *sheng* gives 70 nickel cents = 7 $ Nickel
One *mu* yields 12 *tou* giving 84 $ Nickel
One acre or six *mu* gives 504 $ Nickel = £6 6*s*. 0*d*.

which is not a poor return on an investment of £45 0*s*. 0*d*. A further return of about one tenth the value of the rice crop is obtained from the wheat or other winter crops.

A family of moderate means, owning 18 *mu* or three acres, 434 would therefore have harvested in 1938 crops to the value of 511 about £20 0*s*. 0*d*. If the family consisted of some five or six 421 persons, adults and children, £10 0*s*. 0*d*. worth would be consumed by themselves as food, leaving at most half the crop to sell or exchange for other commodities. The purchasing power of such a family would in other words be at most £10 0*s*. 0*d*. per annum. If however they had to rent half

434 511 427 their land, and thus obtain only half the crop from that portion, their surplus for sale or exchange would only be worth £5 0*s.* 0*d.* There are many families, about one third of the farming population, in this situation. Perhaps another third have just enough land to live on without renting, and one third, rich peasants rather than landlords, possess a surplus of land which they lease to others.

With these small margins it is obvious that very little trade can be done with the outside world, or even with other parts of the province. Very different was the situation when opium was grown as the winter crop. Opium yielded sixty catties to the *mu* and sold for 6 $ Nickel the catty. In terms of sterling this is 1*s.* 6*d.* for one and a quarter pounds. Consequently the farmer realised £4 10*s.* 0*d.* per *mu* for his opium crop, or £27 on the acre. When it is realised that three acres of rice and wheat only yield crops to the value of £20, the consequences of the suppression of opium become plain. The family with three acres, eighteen *mu*, used to raise opium crops to the value of £87 0*s.* 0*d.* in addition to their rice crop worth about £18 0*s.* 0*d.* To-day all this has disappeared and they are left with the £20 0*s.* 0*d.* return on their wheat and rice, of which half is consumed as food.

423 It is remarkable in these circumstances that the value of land has only fallen by one third, a proof of the high value the Min Chia attach to land as such irrespective of the return it gives. It is also curious that when opium was permitted and gave such high returns, no attempt was made to cultivate the poppy on the mountain slopes, where it would grow very well. Even with a cash crop worth four times the value of rice the Min Chia still had their eyes fixed on the rice lands and only grew opium when rice was out of season.

243 465 The farmer who cultivates more land than he and his family can work does not always rent it out to others. He may hire labour at a fixed wage of 8 nickel cents a day and also

provide the labourers with three meals of rice. Labour is 243
engaged mainly in the planting and harvest seasons, and even 465
large farms do not have hired hands permanently on the pay roll. A farm of forty *mu*, or about seven acres, which is large in the Ta Li region, would pay out not more than fifty dollars nickel in the year or about 12*s*. To which must be added the rice for the labourers' meals.

Taxation in Yunnan is light. The land tax and a tax on 651
slaughtering animals are the only direct taxes paid by the people. The newly introduced income tax, first collected in 1938, only applies to the salaries of government officials and teachers, who can ill afford to pay it, and to merchants whose income exceeds 10,000 National Dollars per annum. There are none in this category at Ta Li. The land tax is levied only on cultivated land, and was formerly graded into three categories, applied to the best, medium, and poor land. In 1938 this was changed to a flat rate applied to all cultivated land without distinction. Collected in two equal instalments twice annually, the old tax was as follows:

Grade	*Tax per mu*	*Sterling equivalent*
Best land	4.00 dollars nickel	One shilling (6.0*s*. an acre)
Medium land	3.00 ,, ,,	ninepence (4*s*. 6*d*. an acre)
Poor land	2.00 ,, ,,	sixpence (3*s*. 0*d*. an acre)

The new system requires a flat rate of 2.40 dollars nickel from all land. This is also collected ~~in~~ two equal instalments at the end and in the middle of the year.

This new rate is about equivalent to sevenpence halfpenny per *mu*, which being very much lower than the old rate of a shilling on the best land, and not a very great increase over the old rate of sixpence on the worst, would

651 suggest that in fact most land had become included in the category paying the least tax. It is not probable that a government involved in a desperate war would have introduced changes in the system beneficial to the taxpayer.

[661] Since the owners of the best land were for the most part men of local influence and some wealth, it is not difficult to see how their land had been for taxation purposes included in the lowest category during the period when the power of the government was weak and the quality of the district magistrates inferior.

651 262 The family of moderate means, owning eighteen *mu*, or three acres, which as we have seen in 1938 harvested a rice crop worth £20. *0s 0d.*, would thus have paid £0 *11s. 3d.* in taxation that year. This cannot be said to be heavy taxation, and in fact the Min Chia themselves admit that it is light. The tax on slaughtering animals, a relic of the Buddhist-inspired legislation of former times, is stiffer. For killing a pig the owner has to pay 1.50 dollars silver, or about *1s. 2d.* ; for an ox 3.00 dollars silver, or *2s. 3d.* Beef, partly in consequence of this tax is very little eaten, but pork is the most used meat, an essential dish at every feast or dinner party. The poor, of course, rarely eat meat. Almost every family will fatten a "winter pig" to provide for the feasting with which the Lunar New Year is celebrated, but at other times, unless for a wedding or some special feast no occasion for killing a pig [253] arises. For minor festivities pork can be bought in the city or at a market, thus the butchering tax falls mainly on the professional butchers of the city who cater for a steady market.

426 It is inevitable that with such small margins of ready cash available, the Min Chia farmer is often obliged to contract debts. A wedding, or a funeral, involves expenses for which there is no provision possible unless by borrowing money or mortgaging land. As the rates of interest are very high it is often impossible for the debt to be discharged when due,

and in this way the peasants become more and more indebted to the richer landowners, who are also the moneylenders. 426 The standard rate of interest on cash loans is three per cent per month, or any period less than a month. 36% per annum is to European standards a very high rate of interest, and this is by no means the highest rate prevailing in Ta Li. Pawnshops, which act as banks, charge 4% per month or 48% per annum. In practice of course, the peasant who wishes to borrow money cannot hope to pay at this rate of interest and is obliged to mortgage his land, which is the only asset which could be realised by his creditor. Mortgage rates are a little lower than those charged on cash loans or by the pawn shops, because the security is better. 2½ *tou* of rice is the interest demanded for an advance of 100 dollars nickel secured on land. The value of this quantity of rice in 1938 was 17.50 dollars nickel, so the rate of interest was not more than 17½% per annum on mortgages. Even this rate is of course very high and a farmer who had been compelled to mortgage half or more than half of his land would have great difficulty in making ends meet.

Since the abolition of opium cultivation the problem of 453 debt has therefore greatly increased in the Ta Li region, and 426 this in turn depresses pu[illegible] power and adds to the economic depression. Lan[illegible], which in other parts of China had been set up by th[illegible]entral Government to assist the peasants and provide an alternative to the moneylender at cheaper rates, have not yet been established in Yunnan. In fact there are not as yet any banks at all in the rural districts of this province, even in the cities. In a purely agricultural countryside, without industries of any importance, and with only a restricted commerce, no bank which had not government support and backing can be established, or if established, charge rates of interest lower than those offered by the moneylending richer families.

511 As long as the Min Chia farmer keeps out of debt his
241 economic position is fairly satisfactory. Subsidiary crops,
434 grown often on the edges of the rice fields, or on some bank
262 of raised land which cannot be irrigated, provide both a variety of diet and a little cash. Tobacco, rather coarse in quality, is grown widely. Cabbages, carrots, onions, taro, a kind of turnip, artichokes, peas, haricot and long beans, and in recent years a few potatoes, add flavour to the rice bowl. Indigo for the common blue dye, pulse for lamp oil, and hemp for string, are always in demand. On dry ground some maize, sorghum and barley are grown. Many farmers have a few tea bushes in their kitchen gardens, and some mulberries, peas, peaches and apricots are produced for home consumption. The good quality fruit, however, citrus in winter, pears and peaches in summer, all comes from the other side of the lake.

241 For fertilisers the Min Chia depend on lake weed, pond weed, animal and human manure. No chemical fertilisers are in use and most Min Chia farmers do not seem to have ever heard of them. Oxen or water buffalo are used for ploughing, and occasionally donkeys are used for transporting the harvest to market, but most of the field work is done by the farmers themselves, their wives, and children. The ploughing of wet rice land is very heavy work, for which the water buffalo, an enormously powerful animal, is best suited. A buffalo can plough five *mu*—nearly an acre—in a day, which would require two oxen. The buffalo, however, is an expensive animal, worth about 50 or 60 Silver dollars a head (£2 *5s. 0d.*) and many farmers cannot afford them. The price of oxen is between 20 and 30 Silver dollars a head, but as two are needed to plough a rice field there is not much economy in using oxen.

462 Men and women do the same field work, except that the
241 heavy work of ploughing is left to the men. Women weed

the fields, cultivate with the hoe, do most of the transplanting 462
of rice, and assist the men at the harvest. They also bring 241
the harvest back to the homestead. Marketing is usually left
to the women who carry loads of produce to the city on their
backs, settle down for the day to sell it, and return to the
villages in the evening with the proceeds. This work is done
both by married women and young girls. The Min Chia [147]
women are extremely strong, often doing porterage work
which in other parts of China would only be done by men.

Most of the rice land is privately owned, but every village 423
has some public land, usually attached to a temple, which is
rented out at the usual rate of half the crop to the tenant and
half to the public. The proceeds are used to maintain the village
school, which is held in the temple itself, and any surplus
may be applied either to some public work such as repairs
to the temple, or for the expenses of a festival. The 224
public also have the right of shooting and of hunting over all 136
land, the spoil going to the hunter. This right does not mean
very much in a closely cultivated area where game is scarce,
and though the same free right of the chase applies to the
mountain, the Min Chia make little use of it, partly because
the control of fire-arms is strict, a license being required,
and partly because they show no aptitude as hunters. The
wooded slopes of T'sang Shan are the safe retreat of pheasants,
hares, partridges, wild goat, deer, and the animals
which prey upon them, wolves, leopards, and possibly
tigers.[1]

The neglect of the hunting rights is characteristic of the 231
Min Chia attitude to mountains. The entire area of Ts'ang

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[1] No tiger has been reported on T'sang Shan for several years. Leopards are not plentiful, but wolves abound, and raid the farms on the plain for chickens, pigs, and even small children. They never hunt in packs, and will not attack an adult, but show no fear of man when encountered on the mountain.

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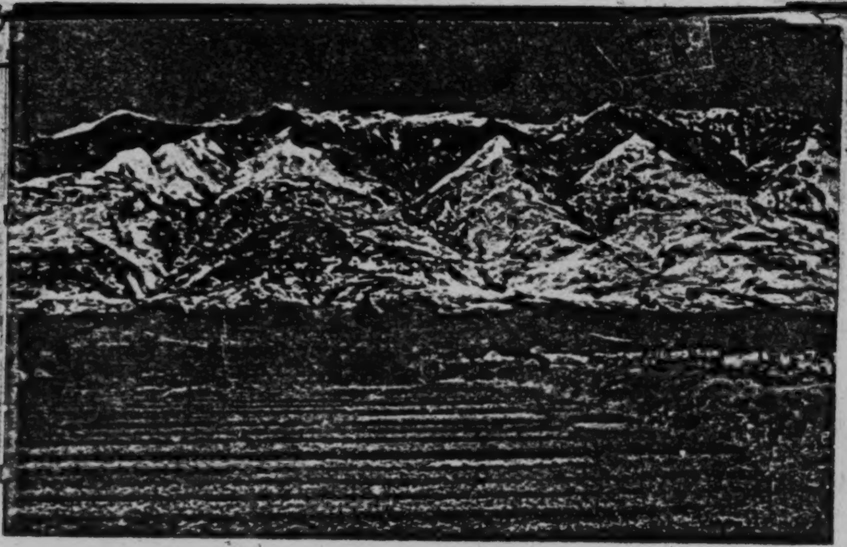
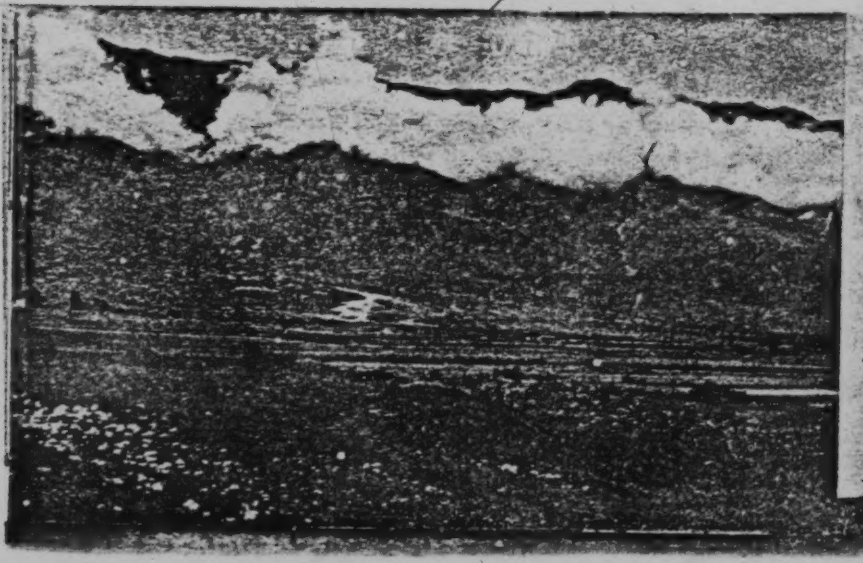


Ts'ang Shan mountains in winter.

Ts'ang Shan mountains in summer.



[Face p. 40]

231 Shan is public land. On the lower slopes, easily reached from
the plain, some cattle are grazed, but as they are driven
down to the city or villages every night, and no attempt has
ever been made to build cow byres on the mountain itself,
they cannot reach the middle slopes, where the pasture is
234 much better. On the other hand the Min Chia, in sharp contrast to the Chinese, milk their cattle, and make two kinds of cheese, called *niuzai* or "milk cakes," and *zerbiu*. Although the Chinese in other parts of the country regard cow's milk as unfit for human consumption, and milk drinking as a disgusting habit, the Yunnanese have taken to *niuzai* or "*Ju san*", as it is called in Chinese, which is even brought up to Yunnanfu, where it is a delicacy.

231 The steepness of the slopes of Ts'ang Shan accounts in some manner for the Min Chia failure to raise more cattle, but the neglect of sheep raising cannot be explained on these grounds. Small flocks of sheep and goats—always more goats than sheep—are driven up daily to about the 9,000 ft. level, but they are always brought back to the villages or the city at night. They cannot therefore reach the fine pastures lying below the rain forest between 9,000 and 11,000 feet, where rich grass remains uncropped from year to year. The small flocks that do exist are not large enough to graze the area in daily reach of the plain, and they largely consist of that rather useless animal, the goat. When asked why they do not raise more sheep, the Min Chia shepherds give a reply which reveals the mental habits bred of long isolation. They say "there are no more sheep". In other words the small flocks they own, are, to them, the only existing flocks of sheep. Other places, remote beyond the encircling mountains, may have sheep also, but this has no practical importance. Sheep from such districts are not available, cannot be, or at least never are, brought to Ta Li, and have no more bearing on their problem than sheep in Australia.

231 236 The quality of the wool produced by the Ta Li sheep is hairy and poor, and the few hundreds of sheep in their flocks do not give any appreciable amount. The demand for mutton, especially since the Moslem population has declined, is small. Though these points are always put forward as an explanation of why there are so few sheep and so much wasted pasture, the manner in which the Min Chia answer these questions shows that they have never really thought about them before. "There are no more sheep" ; this expresses their attitude, and the reasons why there are no more only occur to them as afterthoughts, when some stranger takes it into his head to dispute or argue about a fact which to them is as satisfying as it is obvious.

314 Stock raising in fact is only a minor side line of the villages lying at the base of the mountain. Those families who have not enough rice land to live on engage in a little stock raising, or woodcutting, or cutting the mountain grass for fodder. But these activities are rather despised. Only the very poor, one was constantly told, would try to earn a living on the mountain, and the implication that this sort of livelihood was in some way rather barbarous was clearly present. That the returns are poor is certainly true. A woman or girl—such work is usually left to them—who goes up the mountain at dawn, perhaps to 10,000 or 11,000 ft., a three hour climb, and cuts a load of hay, only gets two nickel, or a halfpenny, for her fodder when she gets down to the city by four o'clock in the afternoon to sell it to the muleteers at the caravan inns. So much work for so poor a reward would obviously only be undertaken by those reduced to great poverty.

313 Bamboo cutting, which involves going still higher, to the bamboo forest at 12,000 ft., under snow and inaccessible in winter, is a little more paying. Bamboos are made into brooms, or cut for sticks, and these can be sold at the fort-

313 nightly markets in Ta Li. The cedars in the rain forest which begins near 13,000 ft. and continues to the crest are cut for building timber to some extent. As they grow on steep and often almost sheer slopes and precipices, much of the timber cannot be cut, or if cut cannot be fetched down. This industry is therefore very limited, and the lengths obtainable small. Large beams for house building and boat building are more easily obtained from the forests on Chi Tsu Shan, the mountain behind the eastern shore of the lake.

824 261 The Min Chia see no value in the many wild fruits which grow on Ts'ang Shan and no attempt to cultivate them or even to gather the wild fruit for sale, is made. Soft fruit such as raspberries, of which there are two excellent wild varieties, could not be transported to a distant market, and as the people of Ta Li and the villagers themselves have never considered them edible, there is no local market.

313 In recent years the *hsien* government, which acts as trustee for such public land as the mountain, has done something towards reafforesting the lower slopes with pines. Much of the ancient pine forest has been cleared by woodcutters, but re-planting undertaken within the last twenty years has restored the lower slopes to forest, and strict licensing of wood cutting is now enforced. On the other hand no attempt has been made to exterminate or even reduce the wolves which infest Ts'ang Shan and not only prey upon the small flocks of sheep, but also raid the villages of the plain
312 for pigs and chickens. The main value of Ts'ang Shan, in Min
316 Chia eyes, is as a source of perennial streams for irrigating the rice land, its secondary value as the source of the famous Ta Li marble for which the city is known all over China.

226 If the mountain is neglected, the possibilities of the lake both for fishing and transport are fully realised. The Erh Hai produces many kinds of fish, for which there is a ready sale in the city and villages. Every lake-side village is a fishing

village as well as a farming centre, and boats are numerous 226 and well made. What may be called in-shore fishing from small boats is usually done with tame cormorants, which are trained to catch the fish, but prevented from swallowing them by a ring round the neck, The fisherman punts his boat along the shallow shore surrounded by his flock of cormorants, perhaps ten or twelve birds, which seize the fish disturbed by the passage of the boat. The cormorants are never allowed to feed themselves by catching fish when the ring is removed, but are fed by hand in the boat ; damaged fish, small fry, and shell fish—a kind of fresh water cockle—being used for their food. Fish caught by cormorants is always cheaper than that caught in nets because the birds have damaged it to some degree and it will not keep. Wild cormorants, plentiful on the Erh Hai, can never be tamed for fishing, and the tame ones are bred in captivity.

Off-shore fishing with nets is more paying than cormorant fishing because larger fish can be caught; they are not damaged by the birds' beaks, and can be kept alive in a barrel or tank till brought to market. This is a considerable industry on the lake, but is mostly in the hands of families from the villages of the eastern shore where there is little or no rice land. The fishing families live permanently on their large [342] boats, fifty feet long by eight feet in the beam, although they often have some property in one of the villages of the eastern shore.

A Min Chia village, even when part of the population engages [361] in fishing, is essentially a cluster of farms. There are no 443 shops in the village, and no trades are carried on there except boat building in one or two of the villages on the east side of the lake, where the poor soil is quite inadequate to support a farming population. When the villager wishes to make purchases he either goes into the city or waits for a market day, when the traders come out to an open air market

443 held on fixed days at one or other of a few large villages. Equally, all produce is sold either daily on the streets of Ta Li, or at the large fortnightly fairs in the city and the smaller markets held every six days in one of these market villages. Commerce is thus not part of the activity of the village as such, and it will be convenient to describe the character and scope of Min Chia trade in a separate chapter.

CHAPTER 3

THE CITY OF GREAT PRINCIPLES

THE name Ta Li, meaning "Great Principles", was given 361
to the city by its founder King Pi-Lo-Ko of Nan Chao in [103]
746 A.D. It was not the first city to be built on the plain, for it was preceded by T'ai Ho Ch'êng, also a capital of Nan Chao, which stood on the site now occupied by T'ai Ho T'sun, a village some five miles south of Ta Li, half way to Hsia Kuan. Earlier than this a fortified site upon the mountain slope above Ta Li shows traces of occupation which may date from neolithic times. [172] Ta Li as it now stands is a walled city rectangular in shape, about one mile long by half a mile in width. At some past date it was enlarged by extending the west and east walls by a third again, and building a new south wall. The old south wall was demolished, but the old south gate, known to day as the Wu Hua Lou, the Tower of Five Glories, was left intact and used as a bell tower. Although the area thus enclosed by walls is large, very little of it is now occupied with buildings. The long main street connecting the north and south gates, and the less busy east and west gate streets, are flanked by quiet residential lanes, which, long before the walls are reached, tail off into market gardens and fields. Almost every house has its ample garden, and wide areas of vacant land are used as parade grounds and fair grounds for the fortnightly market.

It is certain that the city was formerly more inhabited than 669
at present, for within the past century it has sustained two 731
disasters of the first magnitude. In 1874 on the suppression of the Moslem rebellion the citizens of that religion, some ten thousand in number, were put to the sword, and thus probably half, or at least a third, of the inhabitants of Ta Li

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

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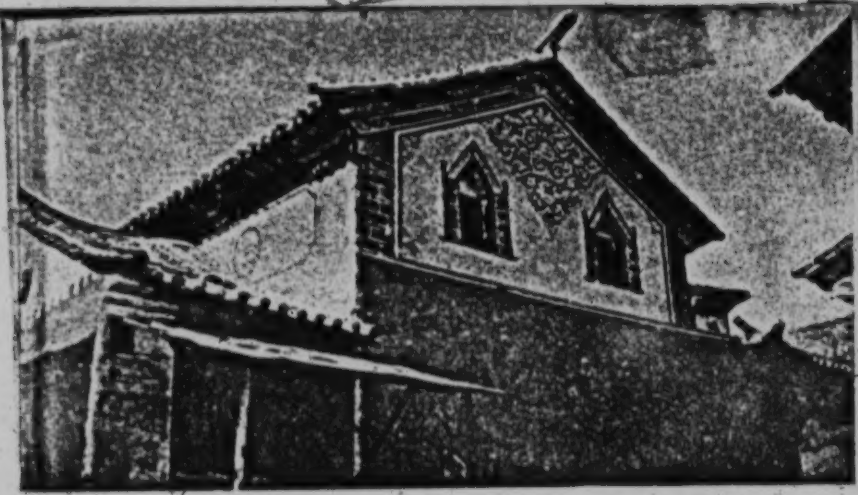
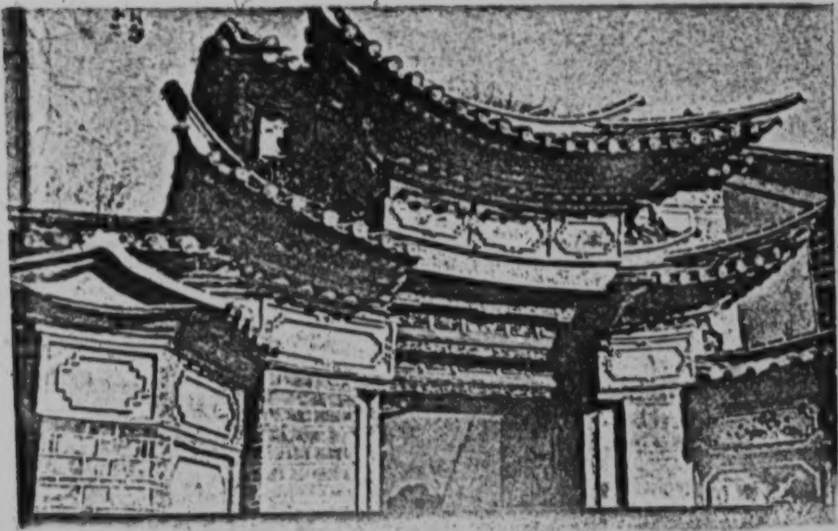


Ta Li house. Decoration shows Moslem influence.

Gateway of wealthy house in Ta Li.



[Face p. 46]

669 / 73 / perished. The extensive ruins of their houses, now covered with cactus and wild shrubs, still encumber large parts of the walled enclosure. These older ruins are for the most part in the south east part of the city, those due to the great earthquake of 1925 are found in all parts. This second disaster caused great destruction and a heavy loss of life. The main street was burnt out, and thus the merchant community suffered a total loss of their goods, which were not of course covered by any form of insurance. The loss of life was not so heavy as in the country, where along the lake shore hundreds died in the sudden collapse of their homes. Most of the dwellings in the city were however, either ruined, or so badly damaged as to be uninhabitable. More solidly built, or as the faithful believe, protected by the gods, the great pagodas outside the city and the main temples inside the walls, withstood the shock, as did three out of the four Gate Towers.

As there is no form of insurance operating in Yunnan these heavy losses fell wholly upon the householders themselves. For years the city lay almost in ruins. Slowly, as wealth accumulated, men began to rebuild, first their shops, then the homes of the richer classes, and still to-day the work of reconstruction goes on. During the years 1937 and 1938
341 / more than thirty ruinous houses were rebuilt. Fortunately Ta Li was then still far from the centres of progress and innovation, so the old style of architecture was employed in rebuilding the city, unchanged by the rather unhappy influence of European ideas found in too many of the new buildings in the greater cities of China. Ta Li to-day, no longer a city of ruins, is one of the most attractive examples of a small Chinese city built entirely in Chinese style. The end and back walls of the better class houses are made of the local granite building stone, the front, where the windows and doors are placed, of wood, and the roofs are tiled. The three solid walls are plastered and whitewashed on the out-

341 side, the blank surfaces at the gable ends and under the eaves being decorated with black and white arabesques. The doors in the wooden fronts are carved, and the window spaces closed with lattices of intricate and unusual designs. The houses, as in all parts of China, are built on the courtyard plan, but are usually two storied.

This style of architecture is not of course peculiar to Ta Li, and there is no difference between the houses inhabited by Min Chia and by Chinese. If there was ever an indigenous type of house unlike the Chinese kind, it has entirely disappeared. On the other hand, the custom of decorating the end walls with black and white arabesque patterns is peculiar to the Ta Li region and is not found in other parts of Yunnan. The small pointed windows let into the end and back walls, another peculiarity of Ta Li houses, are not found in ordinary Chinese designed houses and these, and the decoration found in conjunction with them, may perhaps be attributed to Moslem influence.

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247 Every residential house has a garden as well as the central courtyard. The garden, part of which is used for vegetables, is usually shaded with fine trees and gay with flowering shrubs. The camelia or tea tree, of which there are many varieties, is very popular at Ta Li in the winter months. In summer, roses, azaleas and rhododendrons (the latter with difficulty acclimatised to the lower altitude), give a constant succession of flowers, and the plants are trained with loving care into strange shapes representing Chinese characters for happiness and good luck. The people of Ta Li are keen amateur gardeners and in recent years many foreign flowers such as zinnias and marigolds have been introduced. Loquats, oranges and pears are grown, although the quality of fruit from the eastern shore of the lake is much superior. These trees are grown in Ta Li more for their blossom than for the fruit.

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

312 As the city lies at the foot of the high Ts'ang Shan range there is an abundant water supply. Small streams led off from the mountain torrents have been conducted into the city by tunnels under the walls and flow swiftly by the side of the lanes across the city from west to east. They are used as power for water mills, for washing clothes, and for irrigation, drinking water being obtained from numerous wells.

361 In the eastern half of the enclosure, where streams wind along among groves of willows, and farmhouses lie hidden among large shade trees and clumps of bamboo, the visitor is surprised, on seeing the city wall, to find that among these rural surroundings he is still within the city itself. Indeed, seen from a high point on the mountain, Ta Li with its creeper-clad walls and the dense groves of trees in the gardens looks more like a wood than a city, a huge walled garden set in the wide spaces of green, watery rice fields.

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438 This rural character is well suited to a town which is in fact entirely dependent on agriculture for its commerce and industries. The primary function of a small city such as Ta Li is to provide a market for the peasants and to act as a distributing point for the goods which the farming population need. It is also a centre where the richer families can live in a security which the open country did not always afford; where there are schools, law courts, government offices and the headquarters of an important military command. But though this apparatus of government gives an urban air to the town and nourishes a small trade in books, and other articles used by the educated minority, the rice standard really rules the city just as surely as it does the country village. The commerce of Ta Li depends on the price of rice and the industries cater for the needs of the peasants.

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443 The interdependence between town and country is not confined to trade, for the inhabitants of the town itself are largely farmers who also have homes in the country villages.

The Min Chia townsmen are in fact really members of families 369
who are landowners in the country, while many of the 443
richer merchants have invested their profits in land and
become landlords, and moneylenders, in the villages. These 565
families with rural and urban connections can be classified 369
broadly into three groups. Firstly there are small farmers 423
whose land is not sufficient to support the whole family, and 443
who have opened little shops in the city to supplement their incomes. They usually engage in trades such as tailoring, selling ready made clothes, or keep small tobacco shops which also sell straw sandals, string, fruit, and sweetmeats, in other words things which can be made by the women of the family itself and do not require capital. The turnover of such shops is very small, but the women can supply most of the stock and attend to the shop at the same time.

A family named Yang, pronounced "Ya" by the Min Chia are typical of this class. Min Chia by speech and descent they are the younger collateral branch of a widespread family, the senior branch of which is considered wealthy by Ta Li standards. They are thus connected by marriage with most of the well to do families in the city and neighbourhood, both "Chinese" and Min Chia. As is often the case at present, the original holding of land has been sub-divided on the death of the senior members of the last generation so that the share of the land belonging to this branch is only ten *mu*, or less than two acres. They had further suffered, in common with most of their neighbours, very heavy losses when their home, in one of the lake-side villages, was burnt and wrecked by the earthquake of 1925. The parents are both living, but the father, now elderly, suffers from some internal complaint, and is an invalid. There are three sons and one daughter. Two of the sons are adult, and therefore married, the daughter, though now eighteen years old, has not yet married, but will be within a year. The youngest son

565 is a schoolboy. This family although now very hard pressed
369 for money belongs to the educated class, and therefore all the
423 sons have been given education up to the middle school
443 grade, and are of course literate in Chinese. The eldest has for some years been a school teacher, in China a very respected and honourable, but badly paid profession, the second son, who is married to the daughter of a much wealthier family, is a secretary in the office of the Garrison Headquarters.

Their land is worked by an uncle, his son and the wives, while the old mother assisted by her daughter (still unmarried), and by the elder sons in their spare time, keeps a tailoring shop in the city which also sells a few ready made clothes. Behind this shop they have a very small town house, but half the family is always in the country village by the lake, and other members constantly come and go, sometimes every day, between the two homes, which are three miles apart. There is of course no other means of transport except walking, unless a mule or a litter is hired, an extravagance which they would not undertake unless in case of sickness. As both the elder sons already have families of young children, and there are only two members of the family gainfully employed (if the microscopic salaries of a teacher and a clerk can be so described), this family is hard pressed. During the planting season and at harvest not only the wives, but also the sons go out and help on the land, and though no stigma attaches to educated people doing rough farm work, it is not usual for them to do it unless the necessity is great.

565 The second class of family with city and village homes is
369 composed of wealthy farmers who live in the city for com-
423 fort. The Wang family, related to the Yangs just discussed,
607 are of this class. The second of the Yang sons is married to a
younger daughter of the Wang family, whose land and

country home is in the next village along the shore of the lake. The two families are intimate and friendly although one is very much wealthier than the other. The Wangs, or "Wa", as they, being Min Chia, would pronounce the name themselves, are large landowners and have official connections. One of their members is now a magistrate in a city of eastern Yunnan, another now living at home, was formerly a magistrate in the same part of the province, and others hold official posts in K'un Ming, the provincial capital. Their country house, rebuilt since the earthquake, is large, well furnished and substantial. Whereas the Yang family have only been able to rebuild a third of their home, the Wang family have also a large house in the city where most of them spend their time, because they find it more lively than the rustic seclusion of their native village. 565 369 423 647

The third class, of which another family, the Li, are an example, are the city families with investments in land. The Li are Chinese, that is to say they are Chinese on the paternal side, but related on the distaff side to Min Chia families, including the Yang family mentioned above. They do not 'speak Min Chia', they will tell you, although as a matter of fact they understand it quite well if they want to. The family are the chief pawnbrokers of the city and as such considered very wealthy. The late head of the family was a major in the Yunnan provincial army, and the present head of the family served in the army as a captain. This family, being Chinese although long settled in Ta Li (for about four centuries), does not possess any ancestral lands in the country, but as a result of their business operations and the foreclosure of mortgages they do in fact own land in various places on the Ta Li plain. This land of course they rent out, receiving the rice rents in kind, and neither living in the country themselves or having any other connection than ownership with their land. 565 369 423 452

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The remainder of the inhabitants of Ta Li may be classified as artisans, no doubt landless peasants in origin, and Min Chia by race, and immigrant Chinese merchants. These latter come from Ssu Ch'uan, the eastern provinces, and also from Canton. They are not very numerous, but own all the best shops. The silk trade is in the hands of Cantonese and Kiangsu men, and even the local marbles are mostly sold and worked by Ssu Ch'uanese, although the labour is usually Min Chia, and the quarrying entirely so. The Cantonese operate Mixed Goods shops, but have no monopoly of this business. The Hat and Shoe trades, the largest in the city, are not monopolised by any group, but here too the ubiquitous Ssu Ch'uanese are prominent. Each of these immigrant groups of Chinese maintains a Guild House and they continue to regard themselves as strangers in the city, although many of them have been born there and others spent most of their lives in Yunnan. The distinction between a Yunnanese Chinese and an immigrant is indeed hard to draw, and though clear enough to the individuals concerned cannot easily be reduced to a formula. A family such as the Li, although in origin immigrants from Kiangsu, would now unhesitatingly say they were Yunnanese. But another family, settled in the city for four generations, still call themselves Ssu Ch'uanese. It is true that there is a great difference between an immigration dating back four centuries and one dating only four generations.

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A census of all the shops in Ta Li, and the group to which on average their owners belong, will show how the commerce of the city is distributed, its character, and to what slight degree it is dependent on goods imported from other parts of China and abroad. In this table, while all the shops open in 1938 have been listed, the ethnic group to which the owners belong has been indicated only for the majority, there being some exceptions and overlapping in every kind

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

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of business. Thus some of the tailors may be Chinese, or of such mixed origin as to be very doubtfully Min Chia, and the distribution of trades among the Chinese is even less fixed. Though not rigidly defined like an Indian caste system there is still a marked separation between the kinds of business done by Chinese and Min Chia on the one hand, and different groups of Chinese on the other.

Shops in Ta Li City

Shop	*Number*	*Ethnic Group*
Barbers	11	Ssu Ch'uanese
Bedding	8	Yunnan Chinese
Books and stationery	5	Kiangsu and Cantonese
Brassmiths	7	Min Chia
Butchers	5	Min Chia
Cakes and confectionery	5	Min Chia and Yunnanese
Carpenters	5	Min Chia
Charcoal braziers	1	Min Chia
Coffins	13	Min Chia and Yunnanese
Crackers, incense and candles	7	Ssu Ch'uanese
Crockery	2	Yunnanese
Dentist	1	Cantonese
Drapers (cloth)	4	Min Chia
Embroidery	1	Min Chia
Furriers	4	Min Chia
Hatters	39	All groups
Ironmongers	6	Min Chia
Marbles	17	Ssu Ch'uanese and Min Chia
Medicine shops	55	Cantonese and Yunnanese

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Shop	*Number*	*Ethnic Group*
Mixed imported goods	31	Cantonese and Yunnanese
Musical instruments	1	Ssu Ch'uanese
Paper images (for funerals)	4	Min Chia
Photographer	1	Cantonese
Picture sellers	5	Yunnanese
Printers	6	Yunnanese
Ready made clothes	11	Min Chia
Restaurants and Tea houses	64	Min Chia and Yunnanese Moslems
Saddlers	9	Min Chia
Second hand clothing	6	Min Chia
Shoe shops	73	All groups mostly Ssu Ch'uanese
Silk stores (mercers)	42	Kiangsu and Cantonese
Silversmiths	18	Min Chia
Tailors	42	Min Chia
Tinsmiths	7	Min Chia
Tobacco, straw sandals, etc.	101	Min Chia
Transport firms	3	Moslem Yunnanese
Trunk makers	6	Min Chia
Watchmakers	3	Yunnanese
Wine and salt shops	64	Min Chia
Writing brush makers	4	Yunnanese
	697	

441 The above list is as clearly defined as possible, but in fact many shops do two kinds of business, for example a marble

shop sells a few imported goods, some tailors also sell ready 441
made clothes. To avoid duplicating the numbers the shops
have been listed by their main line of goods. Some of the
trades need a word of explanation. Marble shops are those
that sell the Ta Li marbles cut into plaques, "pictures in
stone" for decorative purposes. Mixed imported goods include
such diverse things as socks made in Shanghai, electric
torches, vacuum flasks, mirrors, rubber shoes, soap, scent,
aluminium pots and pans, padlocks, combs, penknives and
fountain pens, and other similar light industrial products,
mostly coming either from Shanghai or Germany and, before
the war, from Japan.

Paper images are made to be burned in the funeral procession [764]
and are not usually kept in stock, being made to
order when required. The restaurants and tea houses, very [265]
numerous as they are, can be divided into those that provide
full meals and those which only sell tea and light refreshments
such as sweetmeats. Tobacconists, usually very small [291]
shops, also sell locally made coarse soap, matches, string,
and straw sandals, the latter article being in constant demand
as they are worn by all peasants and muleteers and do
not last very long. Wine and salt shops sell these commodities [275]
under license, as wine is taxed and salt is a government [263]
monopoly. They also sell pepper and some articles of
food such as scones and sweetmeats.

The large number of hatters and shoemakers is explained 438
by the fact that Ta Li is a centre for the manufacture of these 443
articles which are sent to other towns in western Yunnan
and to the local markets and country fairs. These are the
only industries which cater for a wider market than the
immediate locality of Ta Li itself. With the exception of a
few lines of foreign goods sold by the mixed goods shops all
the articles for sale are either made locally or imported from
other parts of China. Thus the silks come from Shanghai and

438 the manufacturing towns of Kiangsu. Since the fall of Shang-
443 hai these have had to be imported with some difficulty via
Hong Kong and Canton, and more recently via French Indo-
China. In consequence stocks were falling and prices rising
278 at the end of 1938. Medicine shops do not handle western
443 types of medicine. Their stocks include many kinds of herbs,
and also highly valued medicaments of doubtful curative
value such as deer and rhinoceros horn, powders made of
fossil bones, and various minerals. This business is very
lucrative and the owners of the medicine shops are among
the richest merchants in the city. Much of their raw mater-
ial is brought from the Tibetan marches and from the un-
438 administered forest tracks of northern Burma. Chinaware,
323 by which is meant porcelain, is imported from the famous
potteries in Kiangsi. This ware is used by the wealthy; a
local very much cheaper pottery from Yung Pei in northern
Yunnan is sold at the fortnightly markets in great quantities.

443 The shops in the city thus provide a fairly wide range of
438 better class goods, but for food supplies and the articles of
everyday use the population depends on the daily markets
and the fortnightly fairs. Apart from the butchers there are
no shops selling produce in the city. Vegetables, fish, rice,
and grain are sold daily in the street markets which open
about ten o'clock in the morning, when the peasants reach
the city, and are usually over by four in the afternoon, when
the country people set off for the villages before darkness
can overtake them on the way.

The fortnightly "great markets" are held on the second and sixteenth of every lunar month on open spaces inside the north and south gates respectively. These fairs in fine weather attract very large numbers of people from the country and even from districts distant three days journey. During the morning all roads and paths leading towards the city are thronged with peasants and traders, women being

quite as numerous as men. Some of the goods sold are 443
brought from districts fifty and more miles away, and, 438
especially in the winter months, some Tibetan horse dealers are sure to come down with ponies to sell. By mid-day the market is fully open. Booths are set up in long lines for the sale of silks, and other goods which would be damaged by the sun, temporary restaurants and tea houses do a thriving trade, while the air is rent with the shrill screaming of innumerable pigs, tugging and straining at the ropes which
secure them by the hind legs. Elsewhere pottery, bamboo [286]
brooms, brass and copper ware from Li Chiang, fruit from the eastern shore of the lake, mats from Mi Tu, and a line of booths gay with the peasant embroideries made by the Min Chia women, attract a crowd of customers and idlers.

Bargaining is keen and shrewd. No one buys anything until every vendor has been visited, his wares priced, cheapened, and compared, and finally, after many return visits, when the price has been lowered by a nickel or two at most, the sale is made. Traders complain that now the crowds come more to see than to buy, and they regret the old days when opium was still grown. Some of the wares offered for sale are surprising. Carved doors and staircases for houses ready made and apparently of a standard size, are made in Hsi Chou north of Ta Li and offered for sale at these markets, to which they are brought fifteen miles on the backs of girls and men. There are the parrot sellers, whose "wares", small green parrots which are found wild in many parts of Yunnan, sit serenely, untied and tame, upon a large wooden frame of perches, carried on the vendor's shoulders. On the edge of the market, squatting on the ground, the Tibetan horse dealers, in their leather knee boots, with grimy bare chests, and long, matted, lousy hair, sit aloof and alien, watching their mounts, and the Mohammedan muleteers who come to look them over. Towards mid-day a long line of Min Chia

Towards mid-day a long line of Min Chia
443 women with heavy pieces of wooden furniture, chests,
438 benches and bed ends, on their backs, stagger slowly on to
482 the fair ground. With the weight taken by a band round the
352 forehead they have carried these loads from Chien Ch'uan
and Ho Ch'ing, more than sixty miles to the north, and even
for unladen men a three days' journey over the mountains.

443 Not far from the furniture sellers the pottery of Yung Pei,
438 a town in the High Yang Tze valley one hundred miles to the
323 north, is displayed. No pottery is made on the Ta Li plain,
435 and apart from the Kiangsi ware used by the rich, all the
415 pottery used comes from these Yung Pei kilns. Here one
may see a cheap blue and white porcelain, mainly rice bowls, and a wide variety of earthenware vessels many of which reproduce in this coarse material the lovely shapes admired by connoisseurs in old Chinese porcelain. There are also the brittle, black clay cooking vessels from the district of Ma Kai south east of Ta Li, which are made from clay containing a high proportion of graphite, and are fire resisting. These cooking vessels, which sell for a few nickel in Ta Li, and for less than a nickel apiece in the district where they are made, almost entirely replace metal pots and pans for cooking. The only iron ware used in cooking are the large shallow cauldrons in which rice is cooked. These, too, are made in a neighbouring part of the province.

443 The busiest corner of the market is of course the produce
438 section, where rice and vegetables are on sale, or are direct-
435 ly bartered for other commodities. Here the farmers can ex-
231 change one *tou* of rice for ten Chinese feet of cotton cloth of
the standard width of one foot; and this is sufficient to make a complete suit of coat and trousers. A large part of the country produce brought to market consists of livestock, pigs, chickens, and some cattle. Horses are not in quite the same category as they are mainly used in the transport trade and the dealers are Chinese, Moslems or Tibetans. The price

of pigs naturally depends on the age and quality of the 443
animal, but 70 dollars Nickel, or fifteen shillings, is the usual 438
price of a fat pig ready for slaughter. Pig bristles, which are 435
one of the few local products which have a world market, 231
fetch ten dollars Silver a catty, or about nine shillings for [237]
one and a quarter pounds weight. This is in Ta Li a high price, but it must be remembered that only the bristles along the spinal ridge of the pig are of any use, and the quantity obtained from one animal is not very large. Sheep, which, as has been pointed out, are not greatly valued or numerous, fetch about twenty dollars Nickel a head at most, as compared with seventy to eighty for a fat pig. Cattle, either for milking or draught, are a little more expensive, the prices ranging between twenty and thirty dollars Silver a head, or about fifteen shillings to one pound sterling. The price of a horse or mule varies a great deal, as there is a wide difference between the value of a pack pony and a good riding horse. Fifty dollars Silver, or about two pounds, is the lowest price, but a good mount may cost four times as much, and big, powerful mules bred on the Tibetan border, which can carry loads of two hundred catties (two hundred and fifty pounds), were selling for as much as four hundred dollars Silver or nearly £16 *0s. 0d.* a head. It is true that this high price was paid by army buyers at the autumn fair in 1938, and is not normal.

Although the character of this market remains much the 443
same throughout the year there are seasonal changes. Thus 438
in the beginning of autumn large numbers of quilts and 292
warm coats are offered for sale, and in the summer umbrellas, "rain cloth"—a kind of local oil cloth—and palm fibre rain cloaks worn by the farmers, are in great demand, for the Min Chia, like the Chinese, hate getting wet. To- 443
wards the end of the lunar year, when the great New Year 438
settling day is approaching, the market becomes very busy,

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and in this month it is sometimes possible to find curios—usually of no value—which have been sold by some family in urgent need of funds. As a rule, however, the stock of the few merchants who sell curios, or secondhand objects of all descriptions, is as valueless as it is varied. Rusty swords, spearheads and daggers, are mixed up with bottles, tins, and cracked porcelain, cheap jade ornaments, silver bangles, an occasional broken bronze Buddha, and a quaint assortment of rubbish of European origin such as old table knives and forks, brass buttons of a Ghurka regiment, a battered English Grammar, or an old pair of opera glasses with the lenses missing. As an inspection of some European Curio shops "Chinese" wares shows equally well, the rubbish of one culture is a "curio" in another.

The fortnightly Ta Li market is thus essentially a means of exchanging local products, and not an occasion on which imported manufactured goods are sold in any quantity. On the other hand the two great annual fairs, the Third Month Fair held at Ta Li in the spring, and the Fish Pool Fair (Yu Tan Hui) held near Shang Kuan at the northern end of the plain, in the autumn, draw merchants from distant places to sell their wares, and afford the country people over a wide area an opportunity of buying the products of the coast and foreign countries. These two fairs, one in the brief slack season before the wheat is harvested and the rice planted, the other held just before the rice harvest, are timed to fit in with the programme of the farmers' year, so that the peasants can find leisure to travel some distance to attend them, when the weather is suitable. The Third Month usually corresponds fairly closely to the Solar April, before the monsoon breaks, and the Yu Tan Hui held in the Eighth Month, falls in the Solar month of September, when the rainy season is nearly over and the rains have in any case become sporadic and slighter.

THE CITY OF GREAT PRINCIPLES

The Third Month Fair, *Sa Wa Dser* in Min Chia or *San Yueh Kai* to the Chinese is held on the 16th of the Third Lunar Month this being the traditional birthday of the Boddhisatva Kuan Yin (Avolekitesvara) and the official name (never used) for the Fair is "Kuan Yin Shih" the "Kuan Yin Fair". The Fair usually lasts about five days, the date of termination depending on the volume of business. It is famous all over Yunnan, and seems to be very ancient, as it is said to have been instituted by King Pi Lo ko of Nan Chao in the eighth century. To-day one is constantly told that business is far less than in former times, and the abolition of opium cultivation is always given as the reason. It is interesting to observe, however, that the same remark was made to one of the first European travellers to visit Ta Li, Archibald Colquhoun, who passed through Ta Li in 1882. It is true that this was only a few years[1] after the end of the great Moslem rebellion which devastated Yunnan in the seventies. In Colquhoun's time opium cultivation was still universal. It is generally agreed that the attendance of the public is as great as ever, but that the customers come to look and not to buy.

The fair is held outside the west gate of Ta Li city on a piece of open ground on the first uncultivated slopes of the Ts'ang Shan mountain, which also serves the purpose of a burial ground for executed criminals. Here, among the crude graves of these unhonoured dead, a little town of tents and booths, arranged in orderly streets, springs up on the day before the fair opens. These are the shops of the merchants of perishable goods, cloth, silk, imported mixed goods, and indeed all the trades represented in the streets of Ta Li itself. In addition there are many Cantonese merchants who have come for the fair itself with manufactured goods

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[1] Across Chryse, Archibald Colquhoun. Vol. 2. Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington. London. 1883.

443 for sale, and there are the usual restaurant booths and tea
438 houses, always crowded, and serving excellent and tasty meals cooked on an improvised stove of stones and clay. At
278 least one half of the fair ground is occupied by the tents and
443 booths of the medicine merchants, for this fair is above all
438 famous as a market for drugs and herbs. The merchants, some of whom are from the marches of Tibet, bring enormous quantities of these goods to the Third Month Fair, which is attended by buyers representing the great medicine firms of the coastal cities and even of such distant places as Peking. The strange ingredients used in Chinese medicine, deer and rhinoceros horns, rare fungi from the forests of north
7 Burma, the caterpillar plant (which, though really a seed pod, exactly resembles a caterpillar), tiger claws, and herbs which are probably possessed of more useful properties than these things, come very largely from the wild country of south west Yunnan and the great forests along the Yunnan Tibetan border ranges. Deer horns, believed to restore sexual potency, sell at the coast for as much as 5,000 National Currency dollars the pair (nearly £250 0s. 0d.) but they must be of a special kind, only found in the Burma-Yunnan borderland, and only those from the wild deer are valuable. The merchants state that the horn of the wild deer can be readily distinguished from horn of the same species reared in captivity.

443 These goods can of course be obtained for comparatively
438 low prices at the Ta Li fair, not far from their country of origin, and although the cost of transport to the coast is high, it is not difficult, comparing the cost and sale price, to understand why the Chinese medicine trade is one of the most profitable. The general merchandise imported for sale does not differ in character from that sold in the few mixed goods shops in Ta Li city, but the quality and range of the articles is superior. European or Shanghai piece goods, hats,

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hardware, and knitted woollen goods, especially for children, are most in demand, Some local specialities such as the hard wood carved furniture made near Teng Ch'uan north of Ta Li is also sold, but not in the quantity offered at the Yu Tan Hui in the autumn.

The horse market vies in importance with the drug and herb trade. Tibetan dealers come down to Ta Li in very large numbers for this fair, stopping on their way to the tea districts further south, for it is partly with the cash from the sale of their horses here that they buy the tea further south. With their wives and families they camp among the graves that cover the lower slopes near the fair ground, grazing their mules and ponies on the fresh spring grass. In order to show the merits of their horses a kind of "race meeting" is held on the third day of the fair, under the west wall of the city, where there is a stretch of flat ground, now further levelled to provide the "by pass" for the motor road which is planned to connect Ta Li with Li Chiang. The races are not competitive in the European manner, but consist of displays of horsemanship by one rider at a time. An official air is lent to the proceedings by the presence of the Magistrate of Ta Li and some of the officers of the garrison and other notables, who watch from a tent erected on a convenient mound. The horsemen, not all of whom are Tibetans, ride past the official tent at full gallop, and the points are awarded for the appearance of the horse, its paces, and the horsemanship of the rider. The winner is presented with a red silk flag inscribed with the official approbation, while the best of the other competitors get similar green flags. This flag is then pinned to the saddle of the horse, and the coveted distinction considerably enhances its value.

The general character of the Third Month Fair is thus not so much concerned with the wants of the farming population, the Min Chia themselves, as with purchase and sale of

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

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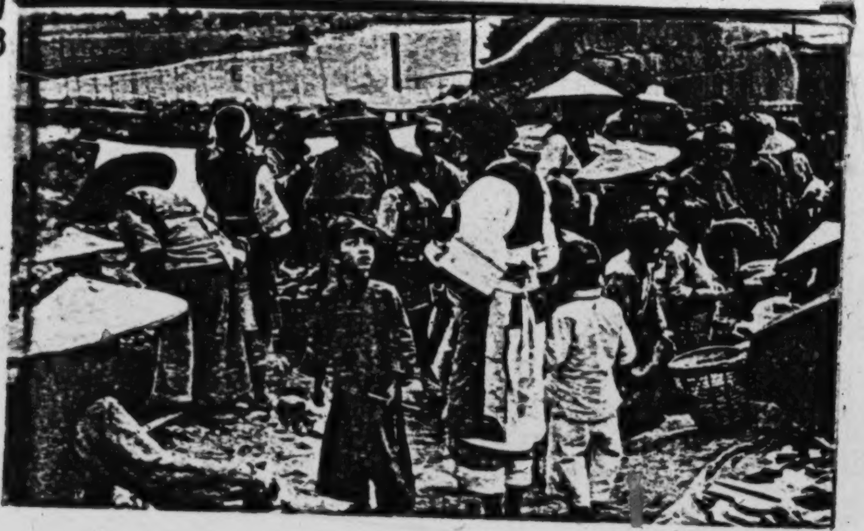

Yu T'an Hui (Fishpool) Fair.

Western Min Chia girl wearing her regional head-dress.

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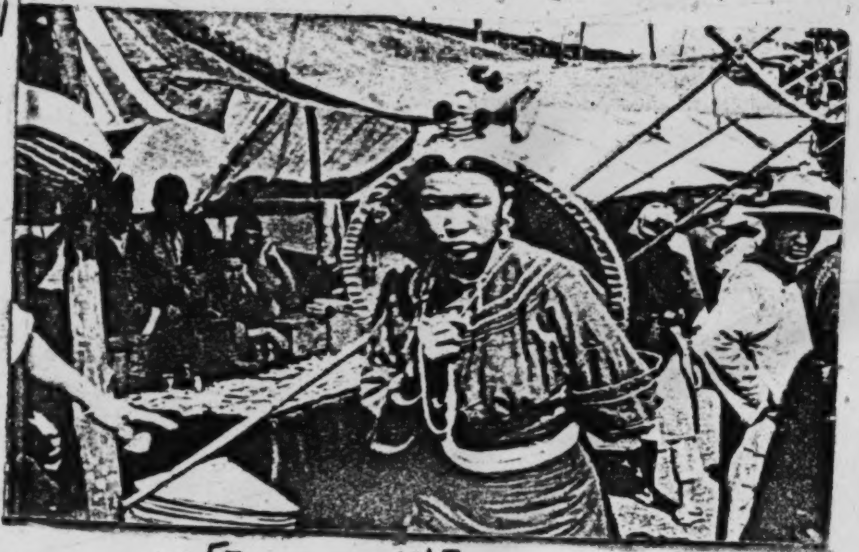

[Face p. 64]

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438 the products of the border regions of Yunnan, for which Ta Li, near the junction of the main east and west and north and south caravan routes, is a convenient site. Held at the city itself it is convenient for the purchasers who have come from distant places and must lodge in the town inns. Although a large number of the peasants from the plain attend the fair, perhaps half those present are strangers from the north or east, or town merchants who come to replenish their stocks. It is this large outside element which has made the Third Month Fair well known to Chinese from other provinces and from Yunnanfu (K'un Ming) whereas the still larger fair of the autumn, the Yu Tan Hui, has not this character and is comparatively unknown even to residents in eastern Yunnan.

The Yu Tan Hui, or Fish Pool Fair, is so called because it is held on a rocky hillside overlooking the northern end of the Erh Hai lake, close to a temple where there was once a large fish tank (now dry). The site is curious, and in many ways inconvenient. There is no town nearer than Teng Ch'uan, which is five miles away, or the decayed fortress of Shang Kuan, distant only a mile, but reduced to a small village within its crumbling walls. Although there are other villages within easy walking distance of the Fair Ground, none of these have more than one or two small and dilapidated inns apart from the ordinary farmhouses of the village. [487] On the other hand the site has good communications. The main north caravan road from Ta Li to Li Chiang and Tibet passes through the fair ground, and the branch road to Yung Pei, the pottery centre, crosses the Erh river estuary by a stone bridge at this point. Also the fair ground is on the shores of the lake, and the large junks can be moored in deep water against the rocky shore. If the customers were mainly merchants from distant places, as at the Third Month Fair, the inconvenience of the site would be considerable, but this fair is primarily for the country people, the Min Chia of

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438 the villages, and they either live within reach or are ready to lodge in crowded farmhouses nearby.

The Fair is held on the 13th of the Eighth Month, a date corresponding in a normal year to 18th of September (1937) but if there is an intercalary month, the date falls later, as in 1938, when it was the 7th of October. In either case the rains are barely over, and in fact rain during the Fair is not uncommon. As the soil of the neighbourhood is red clay, the inconvenience caused by bad weather is considerable.

It is curious that this fair, where the accomodation is so limited, and the goods themselves only protected by flimsy tents of unwashed cotton cloth, should be held in a month where rain is certain and at a place so exposed. The only explanation is the fact that were it held later it would clash with the rice harvest, when the presence of the farmers would be impossible. The Yu Tan Hui is attended by immense crowds of people, nine tenths of whom are Min Chia farmers and their families, women being especially numerous. It continues for nine days on average, and is quite twice as large as the Third Month Fair. The streets of booths and tents cover a wide area on the hillside, nearly every shop in Ta Li, Teng Ch'uan, Chien Ch'uan, Hsia Kuan, and even further off places having its tent or stall. The customers are Min Chia farmers, but the vendors are the townsmen of the neighbouring cities, outside merchants being a minority.

The character of the fair and the goods sold are different from the Third Month Fair; here there are few medicine merchants, and fewer horses and Tibetan dealers, although in 1938, on the news that buyers from the Central Government Army were coming, large numbers of Tibetan mules were brought to the fair. Essentially however the Fair represents a reunion of all the merchants of the local cities at a site where their peasant customers can conveniently purchase city goods, and in exchange sell, not their farm pro-

443 duce, but the products of cottage industry, embroidery,
438 needlework, carved furniture, coffin wood, building stone,
leather work and wood work. As more than half the customers
are women and girls, the goods offered for sale are
largely such things as appeal to feminine needs and vanities.
[326] A whole street of booths houses the silversmiths of Ta Li,
[292] Hsia Kuan and other small cities, and throughout the days of
the fair this street is crowded with Min Chia girls in their
embroidered best clothes, and picturesque silver studded
[301] headdresses. Here they can buy the silver ornaments which
are sewn on to these caps—symbols of good luck and silver
studs—and also bangles, apron holders and the silver chains
complete with ear pick and needle case which Min Chia
girls wear across the left shoulder.

291 Other streets of booths are devoted to hats—some Min
443 Chia girls from the Erh Yuan district wear men's round skull
438 caps decorated with coloured buttons—silk shops, and those
selling knitted woollen children's clothes, a very popular
attraction. But almost every shop has something intended
for women or children, babies' toys, or the gay caps in the
322 shape of tigers' heads which are favoured for baby boys. The
443 carved hard wood furniture made near Teng Ch'uan[1] is
438 here sold in large quantities. It is well made and substantial:
the table tops cut from a single piece of wood may measure
3 ft. by 2 ft. 6 in. This furniture is perhaps the finest workmanship
produced in the Min Chia area, though owing to
the weight of the pieces and the difficulty of transport, it is
only in the last few years that any of it has been taken even as
far as K'un Ming.

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313 [1] The wood used, which comes from further north, is called Hung Ch'un Mu, Red Ch'un wood. There are many kinds of Ch'un tree in Yunnan, but the red Ch'un is the largest and grows only at a great altitude, over 10,000 ft., as is commonly the case with all the large timber trees in Yunnan.

The easy communication with the fair ground by way of [505]
junks on the lake make this fair a great centre for the sale of 443
heavy and bulky goods. Coffin boards, brought from the 438
walnut forests on the Chi Tsu Shan, the mountain on the east 764
side of the lake, have a ready sale. The Min Chia, like the
Chinese, are accustomed to buy the wood and have their
coffins made up in readiness for their own death when they
have reached a ripe age. This, which seems rather macabre
to the European, is not so regarded in China. It is looked
upon as a prudent measure of insurance, no more morbid
than membership of a Burial Assurance Society would be in
Europe. The Min Chia are at one with the Chinese in paying
a great deal of attention and spending a lot of money on
funerals, tombs, and the other apparatus of decease, and
consequently the coffin trade uses only the best hard woods,
walnut for choice.

Ta Li hard granite cut into millstones, or in slabs which 324
can be joined up to make a water tank, is also brought to the 443
Yu Tan Hui by the ship load, for there is no such suitable 438
stone in the northern and eastern districts whence many of
those attending the fair come. Grindstones from further
south, and of course, white Ta Li marble tombstones also
have a large sale. All these goods are brought by boat, and 505
many of the visitors from the lake side villages and towns 443
and from Ta Li itself come to this fair by boat. In the 438
summer, when there may be rain, and the roads are still
boggy it is far more comfortable to travel by the lake boats,
protected from the rain if it comes by the mat cabin top, or
from the sun by the shadow of the towering mat sail. On the
day before the fair opens the surface of the lake is dotted
with dozens of boats converging on Shang Kuan and the
rocky shore by the Yu Tan Hui site, some deep laden with
stone or coffin boards, others buried under a mass of tables
and chairs, the movable properties of a restaurant or tea

505 house, while on others merchants recline upon the heaped
443 up packages and boxes which hold their goods.

438 In spite of the crowds and animation of the fair ground, merchants, as usual, complain that in recent years their
443 business has not been good. The farmers, they say cannot
438 afford to buy since opium cultivation was stopped, and now since the war with Japan began, the price of imported goods is still higher. In 1938 the merchants said that whereas the people would buy old stock, i.e. that purchased before the war and still sold at pre-war prices, there was practically no sale for new stock, purchased since the value of the Chinese dollar in relation to outside currencies dropped. It is indeed fairly obvious that most of the people came to see and be seen rather than to make more than one or two small purchases. The fair must always have been for the villagers as much a social as a commercial occasion. It offers to the women, and particularly to the girls, one of the few opportunities of seeing scenes of busy life, crowds of people, and of wearing their best clothes in public. This is clearly an important aspect of the matter to them, for at no other time or place is it possible to see so many Min Chia girls wearing their full costume, moving freely unattended through the crowds, making their own purchases, watching their friends or rivals do the same, modestly aware that their looks and costumes are being appraised by masculine eyes as well.

CHAPTER 4

THE PEOPLE OF THE WHITE PRINCE

IN A.D. 1252 Mongol troops under the command of the prince who later reigned as the Emperor Yuan Shih Tsu—better known in Europe as Kublai Khan—captured Ta Li from the last ruler of the Kingdom of Nan Chao. From that time to the present day the Min Chia who inhabit that district have been subjects of the dynasties which successively ruled China. Some remnant of local authority was left to the descendants of the Tuan dynasty of Nan Chao during the Mongol (Yuan) period, but when the Chinese Ming dynasty drove out the Mongols and conquered Yunnan in 1383, even this shadow autonomy disappeared. Under the Ming Emperors and their Manchu successors Ta Li was reduced to the position of a prefecture of Yunnan province, politically on the same footing as any other city of the same rank in the Empire. The Republic abolished the distinction between prefectures, sub-prefectures and district cities (*Fu*, *Chou* and *Hsien*) renaming all as *Hsien* so that the old designation "Ta Li Fu," still found on many European maps, became obsolete, and the name used to-day is simply Ta Li.

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The Mongol conquest does not seem to have been followed by any great immigration of Chinese settlers, although it is in this period that the Moslem community, originally mercenary soldiers of the conquerors, became established in the western part of Yunnan. The Ming conquest 130 years later was followed by a great immigration of Chinese, also originally soldiers, who settled in the uninhabited parts of Yunnan and probably in many places displaced unsophisticated tribesmen from the better lands. In the Min Chia country this process was restricted to the settlement of

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175 several Chinese families in the city itself, for there was no
167 eviction of the Min Chia peasantry on the plain. As Ta Li
563 had been the capital of Nan Chao it is probable that the neighbourhood was then populated by a peasantry who had already cultivated all the good land, and it was found more profitable to tax the existing population than to replace them with Chinese settlers.

Several tombs of Chinese families bearing dates from the early Ming period, the fifteenth century of the Christian Era, still stand on the slopes above Ta Li, attesting the fact of immigration and settlement by Chinese from the provinces of the lower Yang Tze valley, in which region the first Ming capital, Nanking, was established. Some of these families still remain in Ta Li to-day, and most of the old Chinese families of the place claim to have "come from Nanking" a phrase which means that their ancestors were natives of what we now call Kiangsu province. Whatever may have been the relationship between the conquerors and the Min Chia at that remote time, before long the racial distinction ceased to count as a political factor, and to-day there is no such thing as a Min Chia "nationality". The culture of the Min Chia still remains in many ways distinct, but the political fusion has become complete. The Kingdom of Nan Chao was in no sense a Min Chia kingdom, even though the district of the capital was then, as now, inhabited by Min Chia for it covered most of Yunnan and thus included a wide variety of peoples, from Tibetans and Li Su to Wa head hunters, even as the modern province of Yunnan does to-day. Even the dynasty of Nan Chao was more probably Shan than Min Chia, so that the change of rulers can hardly have seemed like a loss of independence to the men of that time.

634 There is thus at the present time nothing specifically Min
563 Chia about the organisation of the government in Ta Li and the adjoining Hsien. These districts do not even follow the

ethnographic boundary of the Min Chia people, for although 634 the *Hsien* of Ta Li, Erh Yuan, and Chien Ch'uan, are 563 wholly Min Chia, they overlap also into districts north, east and west of these three, which include communities of Chinese, Na Khi, Li Su and Tu Li. Nevertheless although 642 the governmental system is identical with that in force in other parts of Yunnan and in China as a whole, it merits description for the very reason that, as the cadre in which Chinese civilisation operates, it is itself the principal cause of contact between the two cultures. It is well known that the Chinese Empire has for many centuries been ruled by a civil service of officials recruited by public examinations, and this civil service ranked higher and had greater authority than the military officers commanding the rather scanty garrisons stationed in the walled cities. After the Chinese revolution the old system fell into confusion, from which it has recently emerged, modernised, but in many respects unchanged. The civil officials of to-day are no longer recruited by annual examinations held in Peking or at some other great city, but they are required to be University graduates, and in recent years they are also required to pass a civil service examination, held in the provincial capital. Their military colleagues, who acquired inordinate power during the years of confusion following the revolution, are now slowly being brought under the control of the provincial government, from which they had largely escaped, and though endowed with more power than they possessed under the Manchu Empire, they can no longer override the civil power whenever they choose.

The *Hsien*, an area rather smaller than an English county, yet 634 of considerable extent, is under the civil rule of the *Hsien Cheng*, or Magistrate, who is responsible for the collection of taxes and the administration of justice within certain limitations. He is also in charge of the public works, administers

634 such public property as forests, and controls the civil police force. The administration of justice is divided be-
692 tween the Magistrate, the High Court, and the Garrison
727 Commander. The position of the latter is anomalous since his power is derived from the application of Martial Law to the crimes of banditry and high treason. This is a temporary measure for the pacification of the country, theoretically terminable when order has been completely restored, but likely to last in practice for many years yet. The reason is not so much that the country is disturbed, for banditry has been stamped out in western Yunnan, but that this power derived from martial law is in fact a legalisation of the usurped power of the military authorities originating in the years of turmoil which followed the revolution.

Martial Law applies to banditry, which is defined as robbery under arms, with or without murder; and high treason, which means in practice armed opposition to the government, conspiring against the government, or—up till 1937—assisting or belonging to the Chinese Communist Party. This last offence is only of academic interest in the Ta Li region, which was never affected by the Communist movement, and since the agreement between the Communist rebels and the Central Government upon the outbreak of war with Japan, it is no longer a crime to be a Communist. Criminal offences not included in the scope of Martial Law, such as murder without intent to rob, robbery without arms, seduction of an unmarried girl, forgery and embezzlement are tried by the Magistrate in his court. Sentence of death has to be confirmed by the Governor of the Province and is then carried out by the military authorities.

671 The Chinese reformed civil code is in force in Yunnan,
682 but in out of the way areas such as Ta Li, where the provisions of the new code are usually very little known either to the public or to the officials, the actual practice of the

courts does not always conform to the enlightened ideas of 671
the legislators. It may well be that an older spirit of com- 682
promise on the one hand, and of severity towards socially
condemned crimes on the other, still pervades the law as it
is applied from day to day. This is illustrated by the kind of
sentence imposed for murders of different types. The mur-
der of a near relative, father, mother, brother or sister, a
crime abhorred by the Chinese, is punished with death. But
the murder of one who is not related to the criminal, even
though the crime may have very little palliating or extenu-
ating circumstances, is often only punished by a sentence of
five or six years' imprisonment. The prisons of Yunnan are 697
for the most part well below the standard which the govern-
ment desires to see enforced, and a sentence of some years
in prison is therefore not so light as it may seem.

Civil disputes and lawsuits not involving criminal offences 692
come under the jurisdiction of the Branch High Court situ- 685
ated at Ta Li. This type of jurisdiction is of course part of
the reforms instituted by the Republic, and the law applied
is the new reformed civil code. The Branch High Court has
jurisdiction over a much wider area than the *Hsien* of Ta Li
itself, for it covers all civil cases of importance brought in
the *Hsien* between Pao Shan in the west, Li Chiang in the
north, Meng Hua southwards, and Ch'u Hsiung to the east.
These places, the nearest to have Branch High Courts them-
selves, are each about a hundred miles from Ta Li. A civil
dispute arising in Erh Yuan or Chien Ch'uan has thus to be
brought before the Ta Li Branch High Court, if the parties
cannot compose their differences with the aid of arbitrators.
The Min Chia, like the Chinese, are not at all a litigious 691
people, always preferring to settle their disputes by arbitra-
tion if possible, and only resorting to the courts in the last in-
stance. The cost of litigation in the civil courts, though not
high by European standards, is a further deterrent. The ad-

691 vocate's fee is one dollar silver a day, but it is usual to employ two or three advocates, and cases may last several days, or be adjourned. In the latter case litigants from distant towns have to remain in Ta Li till the case comes on again, which involves further expense if the litigant has no relatives in the city. For these reasons resort to the civil courts is still regarded as the luxury, or the extravagance, of the wealthy, and does not appeal to the peasants as the obvious expedient for settling disputes.

671 626 In fact, the whole system of criminal and civil jurisprudence rests lightly upon the surface of Min Chia life, a sanction generally ignored, but useful in emergency, rarely touching the life of the ordinary individual. In spite of the reforms of modern times the old passive theory of government still operates in practice in such places as Ta Li. The duties of the government in former times were three; to collect taxes, to maintain order, and—a long way after the other two—to carry out such public works as were absolutely necessary. This theory, though no longer admitted, is still very much the practice; the idea that the government has duties of a positive kind towards the people gains way only slowly, and the corresponding realisation of a duty of the citizen to co-operate with the government makes even slower progress. Government is the business of officials, war the business of soldiers, commerce concerns merchants, and agriculture is all a farmer need think about; these were the old axioms, and in practice they still hold fast. The people neither expect nor desire the government to busy itself with their concerns; if a market is held in some out of the way spot in the countryside, hundreds of people with large quantities of merchandise and money assemble, but they do not expect or require the protection or presence of the police. A dispute over the water rights in rice lands, a matter vital to the villagers, is taken, not to the courts, but

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829 642 626 to the village elders and the arbitrators they agree to appoint. The government is not informed, nor does it wish to know what is decided.

626 This indifference to and independence of the government is carried over to matters of criminal nature, where the law might be expected to take an automatic course. In practice the people rarely invoke the law except in cases of armed robbery. A bandit is not a person towards whom one needs to use any consideration; if he has a family they will probably have disowned him to avoid being held as accomplices in his crimes. Therefore with a bandit one can safely call in the forces of law and order, since no unpleasant social relations with other members of his family are likely to result from such action. But with other kinds of criminals this factor is always present. The villagers themselves prefer to deal with a thief in their own way, sometimes a very drastic way, for if a man is found to be an incorrigible petty thief, the village assembles, sometimes asks and obtains the consent of the man's family, and either drives him out or even puts him to death by drowning. Consequently between the penalties enacted for various crimes and what actually happens to a detected criminal who has committed such a crime, there is often a wide difference. This is nowhere more evident than in crimes of a sexual nature.

834 626 Unlike their neighbours to the north, the Na Khi, who still retain a tolerance of pre-nuptial intercourse shocking to the Chinese, the Min Chia have wholly adopted the strict and uncompromising morality of the dominant culture. As has been mentioned, the seduction of a virgin, or even of an unmarried girl previously seduced by another (if such a case occurred), is not merely sin, it is a crime, which is punishable by a sentence of two or three years' imprisonment for the man concerned. The girl is not held guiltless of course, but the law takes no account of her fate, which is left to her

626 father's discretion. In former times a father might slay an
834 unchaste daughter, just as a husband could put an adulterous wife to death; this is now expressly forbidden by law, and does not in fact seem to have been the usual fate of erring women, even when it was permitted.

The law is thus, even now, severe, but in practice such cases hardly ever come before the courts. The idea of invoking the law in a public court in matters of this intimate nature is extremely distasteful to the Min Chia, as to the Chinese. These things are family matters to be settled by and in the family itself, or with the assistance of relatives as arbitrators. For this reason it is usually impossible to hear of cases of the graver sexual offences such as incest, for such
583 things are never made public. On the other hand the abduction of girls—with their own consent—is a common event, and admitted to be so. This, of course, comes strictly within the criminal category of seducing an unmarried girl, but it is rare that the case is brought to court.

To understand why this is so needs a word of explanation. Marriage among the Min Chia is arranged by the parents, the parties themselves not being permitted as much as to see one another before the wedding ceremony, and the betrothal often takes place when both children are still almost infants. There is thus no legitimate free sexual selection, no means of legalising the love which a chance meeting may have kindled in an unbetrothed pair. The Min Chia, however, are no more rigidly bound by their own conventions than other peoples, and thus when a young man and a girl meeting and loving by chance, refuse to renounce their passion, there is only one way out. The man abducts the girl and endeavours to get her to his own home. If he succeeds, after a more or less prolonged wrangle between the parents of both parties, and the parents of those to whom the erring couple were betrothed, the marriage is at last recognised, the customary gifts are exchanged, and the quarrel is appeased. But when 583 the abduction takes place the girl's father is bound in honour to call out his male relations and retainers and start a pursuit. This has all the appearance of a serious chase, the pursuers are armed with swords or firearms, and travel fast, enquiring after the runaways as they go, while the latter try to avoid main tracks and frequented ways. One is constantly told that if the pursuers overtook them a fight would follow and the seducer would be in danger of his life, and the girl in danger of being dragged home to face the wrath, and possible violence of her father. All the same one may doubt this romantic assertion.

It does not appear, in fact, that the Min Chia Lochinvars are ever brought to bay. In spite of the difficulty of escaping in a country where roads are few and mountain barriers make detours almost impossible, the erring couples always seem to get away. This is the more odd as a Min Chia girl, though she has not got bound feet, can hardly be expected to travel much faster than her male relatives, lightly loaded and hurrying in pursuit. But how embarrassing it would be for all parties if the pursuit was successful! The relatives would be forced, from "face", to fight, perhaps even to kill, the seducer of one of their womenfolk. That would mean not only an unpleasant feud with his family, but also the death of the only person who could now be expected, indeed, required, to marry the girl. No Min Chia father wants a girl returned to him, her honour lost, her marriage cancelled, and the only man who could take her off his hands, dead. On the other hand, provided the seducer escapes, and a decent show of pursuit is made, all can be settled, if not for the best, at least on tolerable conditions.

The parents of the boy to whom the girl was betrothed 582 have to be soothed and perhaps compensated for the loss of face their son has undergone in being so manifestly scorned

582 by his intended. But they can usually be consoled by some
diplomatic relative who can point out that really they are
well out of it, for such a girl would clearly not have made a
good daughter-in-law. The youth himself has of course to
settle matters with his own family. They will probably be
more concerned to placate the family of the girl to whom he
is betrothed, justifiably indignant at the neglect of their own
daughter and anxious about her future. Sometimes the boy
will have to marry both to settle matters amicably, his betrothed
as first wife, his love as concubine. This may seem
ideal to the parents, but is hardly a promising arrangement
582 for future domestic peace. On the other hand the family of
626 the abducted girl can insist that marriage does in fact take
place. Cases where the girl is seduced and abandoned are so
rare that I was not able to hear of one. Here, at length, the
law could be invoked if necessary, and the seducer, in
danger of going to gaol for two or three years, would certainly
prefer marriage even if his passion was cold.

In practice it is never necessary to bring things to this
point. The law is never invoked, and not being called upon
to act, the officials take no steps, even when the facts are
well known, the subject of gossip on all sides, and the
offender and his would-be bride living at hand within easy
626 reach. No one wants the law and its officers poking their
824 noses into private business. Even the well known fact that
armed men were afoot, and a breach of the peace likely, does
not rouse the police to action. If manslaughter were done, a
reluctant government would be forced to take action, but it
is fairly plain that no one expects this to happen. Thus in
civil disputes, and even in criminal cases where the motive
is not robbery or banditry, the government remains
passive and the law is allowed to slumber. The Chinese
government, whatever the theory of the reformers, is in
practice still actuated by the Taoist principle of "non-

action", preferring to leave the people to govern themselves 626
which they do very well, and which is all they ask. 829

Even in cases where the crime is in no sense a family matter
the action of the law is reluctant and the possibilities of 696
compromise infinite. During my residence in Ta Li a case of 627
robbery with some violence occurred, which illuminates the attitude to crime on the part of people and officials alike. A young man of good family and education, impelled by some romantic or neurotic impulse, committed a series of burglaries, not because he was poor and needed money, for the objects he stole were of little worth. On the last occasion he was surprised in the room of the house he was robbing, and discovered. In the struggle that followed he stabbed the householder in the leg with a small penknife, inflicting a painful but not fatal or dangerous wound. He was overpowered by others in the house and the police summoned. The case being clear, he was carried off to the magistrate's gaol and held there while preliminary enquiries were made—enquiries which dragged on from month to month. There seemed no reason why the trial should be so delayed, since the facts were hardly in dispute.

Meanwhile his relatives, related as they were to every one of influence in the town, began negotiations for a compromise. By circuitous channels, through a relative who knew a friend, who had a friend who knew the victim of the robbery and assault, a proposition was at length put forward. If the victim would agree to forgo prosecution, various men of substance would be found to guarantee the criminal's future behaviour. The officials were perfectly aware of all this and eager to promote the compromise. At last it was agreed that if the criminal could find six men to guarantee his behaviour, who would also undertake to provide him with some means of livelihood, since his reputation and his occupation were equally lost, the victim would write to the

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Min Chia village of Er Gai Yu (lower chicken village).

The main street, Ta Li.

[Face p. 80]

696 627 magistrate a formal disclaimer of any desire to prosecute. When this had been arranged the case was reviewed by the magistrate and the prisoner released. His friends then obtained a commission in the army for him and he left the town to take part in the war with Japan.

In this case the initial step had been to have the case listed as an ordinary criminal one, not robbery under arms. Had the use of a penknife been held to be robbery under arms the case would have gone before the Military Court, and the penalty might well have been summary execution. Fortunately for the offender it was held that he had not intended to commit violence and that his weapon was not sufficiently dangerous to be considered "arms" in this sense. The attitude of the authorities in this case well illustrates the reluctance which they feel in allowing the law to take its normal course, and the general willingness of all parties to find a way out, to save face, and avoid extreme measures. Here too the factors of family influence, the ramifications of relationship in a small town, and the solidarity of the educated class towards one of its members threatened with a degrading punishment, all played a large part in effecting the compromise.

696 722 627 In sharp contrast to the hesitations of the civil authorities in applying the machinery of the law, the military are ruthless in the suppression of banditry, and this severity is also socially sanctioned, just as the leniency of the civil power is generally approved. In the Min Chia language the name of thief or bandit is classified grammatically with the lower animals, a fact not without significance. In past years the military were far from active in their duty of bandit suppression. This situation which had made travel in Yunnan almost a military operation in the 'twenties, has in recent years been remedied. Under the energetic inspiration of the present Governor, General Lung Yun, banditry has been

696 stamped out, except in the outlying border regions of the
722 north, where Tibetan tribesmen descend to raid the roads.
627 The work of bandit suppression is undertaken by the army and to some extent by the militia, an organisation for local defence.

701 The army in Yunnan, officially listed as one of the army corps of the Republic of China, is in fact a local force, commanded by the Governor and officered by Yunnanese appointed by him. Officers of high rank do not serve in their own districts, just as magistrates are not appointed in their own part of the country, but both classes of officials are drawn from the wealthier landowning families and are thus
[702] often related to one another. The men are recruited in times of peace by voluntary enlistment, but since the war began, by a system of drafting, by which a family with more than three adult sons could be called on to supply two recruits, a family with two or three adult sons one recruit, and families with
[712] one adult son were exempt. Garrisons are established at the larger centres with smaller detachments in each *hsien* city,
701 or at certain strategic points. Ta Li is the Headquarters of a
579 Divisional Command, specially charged with the duty of clearing bandits from the main trade routes to Burma and to the tea district from Tibet. This duty has been performed so thoroughly that from the year 1936 onwards, in spite of the departure of the original garrison for the war front, banditry has disappeared, and one may travel the roads in safety unescorted. It is easy to understand that in a country of lofty wooded mountains with wide stretches of uninhabited forest between the towns the suppression of banditry was not an easy task, and perhaps ruthless methods were inevitable. Arms were licensed, and those found carrying firearms on the roads without a licence were presumed to be bandits, apprehended and executed. There were in fact only a few actual bands, numbering thirty or more men living as out-

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laws, and these could be hunted down by a systematic cordoning of the ranges and passes, More difficult to exterminate were the part time bandits, people who were at one moment farmers cultivating a field, and at the next, when defenceless travellers appeared, armed men barring the road. It is improbable that all who engaged in this sort of crime were detected, but the fate of those who were acted as a deterrent to the others, and with the strict licensing of firearms part time bandits have also diminished or disappeared. At the end of the lunar year, when the New Year Settlement day is approaching, banditry increases, for with a wrong-headed sort of honour people prefer to rob wayfarers rather than lack the means to pay their debts.

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The army is in theory a force controlled by the Central Government of China and, in practice, under the orders of the provincial government in K'un Ming, but this does not make it an alien body in the Min Chia districts. Many of the officers, especially the junior ranks and members of the Political Section attached to the Garrison Headquarters, are local people, Min Chia themselves, and a very large number of the men are recruited in the neighbourhood, and are therefore of course Min Chia. Instruction and words of command are given in Chinese, but it is often found necessary to teach new recruits this language before they can understand orders. In recent years the army has also undertaken the task of teaching the soldiers to read, and with the much more extensive recruitment due to the war, it must now be counted one of the main channels of contact by which Chinese civilisation penetrates the mass of the Min Chia peasantry.

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The influence of the Civil Law and the Army upon the people, though constant, is not consciously directed by any policy of "sinification", for there is no direct interference with customs and habits non-Chinese in character. On the

On the other hand the third channel of contact, education, is inspired by the ancient Chinese belief that alien peoples can be brought into the Chinese culture by teaching them to use the Chinese script and adopt the moral and ethical principles which Chinese literature expounds. At the present time this well tried method of spreading Chinese civilisation has been revived by including patriotic and political teaching in the curriculum of the schools, with the deliberate intention of welding the varied provinces of China into one nation concious of its unity. The Min Chia lend themselves readily to this process, for, long before the Republic was established, the Imperial Civil Service Examination system had opened a road to wealth and power for all who acquired Chinese learning. The characteristic Chinese respect for education is thus fully shared by the Min Chia. 871 177

The schools can be divided broadly into two classes, the city schools maintained by the provincial and local government, and the village schools maintained by the villagers themselves. The first class are subdivided into Elementary and Middle schools, both of which charge fees. Elementary schools in the city are numerous and well attended by both boys and girls, for although education is not actually compulsory every family which can possibly afford it will send their children, especially the boys, to the elementary schools, for which the fees are comparatively low (about 20 Silver dollars a year). The Middle schools of which there are two, one maintained by the city and one by the provincial government, charge 50 Silver dollars a year and continue the education of students up to University age. Only the more wealthy families can afford to educate their children at these schools, which between them have an enrolment of nearly a thousand. Yunnan University, situated at K'un Ming, is open to those who have passed out of the 871 872 873

873 Middle Schools, but is beyond the financial reach of most of the population.

872 For most Min Chia farmers the educational system begins and ends in the village school, which is held in the village Ancestral Temple, and maintained by the revenue of the village public lands. In those villages which are wealthy the education given in these schools is often free, or the fee charged practically nominal. The children attend school between the ages of seven and thirteen or fourteen, and the instruction is mainly in the arts of reading and writing Chinese. To these necessary subjects a little simple geography, elementary arithmetic, and Chinese history are added. In recent times even the village schools have been required to teach the outlines of anatomy and physiology as part of the government's effort to improve health and eliminate superstition. The political doctrines of the Nationalist Party, designed to arouse patriotism and national consciousness, are also a compulsory subject.

Approximately 70 per cent of the boys and 30 per cent of the girls in the villages of Ta Li Hsien attend these village schools, for a varying number of years, and most of them carry away enough knowledge of Chinese to read easy text books or simple inscriptions. The practical value of this education is perhaps not very great, but it enables the peasants to keep accounts and protects them from some of the more obvious forms of cheating such as the circulation of worthless coloured paper for bank notes.

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191 It seems probable that the more modern methods of teaching now coming into use will produce a greater change in the educational standard of the peasantry than the old methods of memorising Chinese classics, which too often left the student with no real understanding of what he had laboriously committed to memory. It is perhaps to these old methods that the Min Chia language owes its survival. When

Chinese was taught in this way, which had no practical 876
everyday use, children naturally continued to speak and 191
think in their own tongue. Now that written Chinese closely
follows the spoken language it may in time gradually displace
the Min Chia spoken language altogether.

Up to the present this has not occurred, for even well 191
educated Min Chia, fluent both in speaking and writing 177
Chinese, continue to converse in Min Chia among themselves.
Yet it is certain that the contact with Chinese lasting
already for so many centuries has greatly corrupted the Min
Chia language. In the Ta Li district the system of counting is [802]
now completely mixed, Min Chia and Chinese numerals
being used in turn in the most confusing way. Many Chinese
words are also used even when Min Chia equivalents exist,
and there is no general rule for their usage. It largely depends
which word occurs to the speaker first. As however
the Min Chia usually pronounce these loan words in accordance
with Min Chia phonology, the consequence of a widespread
knowledge of Chinese may well be the appearance of
a new dialect composed of Chinese words pronounced in a
manner incomprehensible to Chinese of other districts.

Although the political and military fusion of the Min Chia 177
and Chinese is complete, and the influence of a purely
Chinese educational system is making an impression on the
language, the social organisation of a Min Chia village and
the kinship system retain features at variance with Chinese
custom. Certain practices of the Min Chia were theoretically
contrary to the law under the Manchu Dynasty, if they are
not still so, but no attempt to change these customs has been
made by the government, nor are such changes in prospect.
Among the Chinese, the *tsu* a word which has been not too 618
happily translated as "clan", is an important feature of society
and the locality in which a family dwells is of secondary importance.
The Min Chia do not have an autochthonous word

618 for this patrilineal group bearing the same surname. They have borrowed the word from the Chinese, and now use it to denote people of the same surname who are known to be related, but it is a Chinese concept, and does not play an active part in their social organisation.

621 To the Min Chia it is the village, not the kin group, which is the fundamental social unit above the family. People living in the same village, no matter what surname they bear, jointly revere a common "ancestor" or more strictly, "founder", known as the *Ber Dser*, the "Original Ancestor", who is the reputed founder of the settlement. In Min Chia villages, where there may be as many as two hundred families, or as few as forty, three or four surnames are the rule, and no villages inhabited only by one *tsu*, common in Chinese districts, are found. In consequence of this the type of village name common in most parts of China, such as Chang Chia T'sun "village of the Chang Family" are never found in the Min Chia districts, where names such as "Chicken Village" or other descriptive names are usual. While the *Ber Dser*, the Founder, is often said to be the ancestor of one of the families living in the village, this is not necessarily the case, the worship paid to him is thus not ancestor worship, but the cult of a Genius Loci, open to all the inhabitants and not the special duty of one family.

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551 The *tsu* or patrilineal group is not important to the Min Chia because they do not practise exogamy, and the *tsu* is thus shorn of its main function. When it is remembered that to the Chinese marriage with one of the same surname, even when no relationship can be traced, is strictly forbidden, the wide difference in Min Chia custom is apparent, for the Min Chia not only marry members of families with the same surname as themselves, but also paternal cousins of the same generation. Since the primary function of the surname among the Chinese is to locate the individual in his or

her *tsu* and prevent any possibility of endogamy, and since 582
the Min Chia surnames for the most part appear to be Chin- 551
ese in origin, it is an open question whether the use of
surnames by this people is not a comparatively recent con-
sequence of contact with the Chinese. It is true that the
Min Chia pronounce their names in a way very strange to
Chinese ears. The common surname which a Min Chia 551
writes as Wang, using the character employed by the
Chinese, is pronounced Wa, since the Min Chia language
has no final *ng*. But when, as in the case of the name Ch'en,
the Min Chia pronounce it Tso, one may be inclined to
doubt whether this is really the Chinese word at all, and not
perhaps a Min Chia surname conventionally written in
Chinese with the character for Ch'en.

The Min Chia social structure is therefore really a com- 621
bination of territorial units, the village, worshipping a com- 596
mon *Ber Dser* or Founder, and kin groups in which the family
rather than the Chinese *tsu* is the unit. The family in this 596
sense must be understood as the greater family, or joint
family, in which married sons and their children continue
to dwell under the paternal roof. This is the ideal, as with
the Chinese, but in practice, as the Min Chia themselves
admit, it is rarely carried out for a long period. The married
sons may in fact live in the parental home for some years,
but on the death of the parents they usually divide up the
property and set up separate establishments. This indeed,
sometimes happens during the lifetime of the parents, when
the sons marry, but more often this "division of the family"
as it is called, merely means that the young married couple
occupy a separate wing of the family house, and there keep a
separate establishment. In some cases on marriage the son is
given a share of the family land and henceforth manages
independently of his parents, and this arrangement is said to
be increasingly common. It is perhaps significant of this

596 tendency to divide the great family that in the Min Chia language no distinction is made between the word for family and that for house, both being *hao*. To the Min Chia therefore, one house, one family, is the natural thing, and it is not easy, when asking about the population of a village, to make the distinction, how many houses? and how many families?

582 It might be expected that the fact that the Min Chia do not recognise the Chinese rule of exogamy would prove a barrier preventing intermarriage between the two peoples, but it does not in practice do so. Among the wealthier class of Min Chia (those with city connections), few families could be found who are not related to their Chinese neighbours on the distaff side, but even these families who are always well educated by Ta Li standards, and in many ways have assimilated Chinese culture, still not only condone marriage with persons of the same surname of the same *tsu*, but actually contract such marriages. When asked whether this custom is not in fact contrary to Chinese ideas, they will reply that that may be so in other parts of the country, but that "here in Ta Li we have always done so in the past". This being considered an adequate reason for continuing a custom which Chinese from other provinces regard with shocked amazement. The educated Min Chia remain quite unaffected by this attitude on the part of strangers and it is not uncommon to see inscriptions on a tombstone bearing the names of husband and wife of the same surname, inscriptions which scandalise Chinese visitors. The resident Chinese families, who have themselves intermarried with the Min Chia, now accept this custom with an easy toleration, but do not practise it themselves. Thus a Chinese family will accept the daughter of a Min Chia family, although they know that the girl's parents were of the same *tsu*, but they themselves would never give a daughter in marriage to a family of their own surname. This state of affairs is perhaps

the consequence of the long and almost complete isolation 582 of the Min Chia districts. Few immigrants came to Ta Li, and very few Ta Li men went out into the larger world beyond the mountains. Now, when a motor road has been made connecting the city both with K'un Ming and Burma, and many refugees of good social status are coming to live in the remote security of the Min Chia country, it may be that opinions will change. The educated Min Chia may find that their failure to conform with Chinese standards of exogamy excites ridicule and contempt, and the custom of marrying paternal cousins, at least, may be abandoned by the wealthier class. It is unlikely however, that such influences will make themselves felt with the peasantry.

The worship of a common *Ber Dser*, or Founder gives a 621 sense of unity to a village in which more than one name 631 group dwells, and the solidarity of the village is further reinforced by institutions which permit the villagers to govern themselves in almost every matter. The government maintains no police force in the rural districts, nor any paid officials. In recent years, as part of the campaign to restore order and suppress banditry, the system known as *Pao Chia*, or "Family Guarantee" was introduced into Yunnan as in other provinces. This system, a modern version of one of the famous reforms of the eleventh century statesman Wang An-shih of the Sung Dynasty, is devised to make the villages responsible for strangers and travellers who come among them and so check the free movement of bandits. Three or four villages are combined to form a unit called a *chu*, an area, over which presides a *chu chang* or district headman, who is appointed by the *Hsien* Magistrate, but is usually also the headman of one of the villages in his *chu*. The headmen of each of these villages are obliged to report to him the movements of strangers and any disturbances which may occur, and he in turn informs the magistrate. Each village is sub-

621 631 divided into groups of five families who are mutually responsible for each other's behaviour, and in duty bound to report misdemeanours to the village headman. In very populous villages the groups of five families are further combined in groups of fifty families under the headman of the villages.

622 631 This system gives the government information and places responsibility on the shoulders of a definite number of individuals who cannot evade it, but the actual working of the organisation depends on the villagers themselves, and their headmen or elders, who are chosen by them, and not appointed by the government. The elders or headmen are chosen when vacancies occur by the resident heads of families, and the office is tenable for life. If the elder should prove very unsatisfactory he can be deposed, or ignored by the villagers, since his authority has no real legal foundation and can only be exercised by the consent and co-operation of his fellow-villagers. This authority is none the less extensive. The elders can call upon the village levy to chase or apprehend a criminal, and it is they who decide how the [651] government demands for forced labour shall be met. The forced labour system, which is sometimes represented almost as a form of servitude, is really to be regarded as a form of taxation, the peasants being called upon to give their strength rather than their money for the service of the state. 653 622 It is obvious that if the state were to hire labour for all the public works now carried out by forced labour, taxation would have to be increased far above the present levels, as may be seen by comparing the rates of taxation in Yunnan with those in adjoining Burma, where the government has to pay wages for labour done on public works.

When a large scale work is in progress such as the building of the motor road to Burma, the government decrees that each *hsien* along the route, or in the vicinity, must supply so many men, or rather workers (since women are used on

this work also) for a specified length of time, usually a 653
month at a time in the seasons which are slackest on the land. 622
The magistrate then instructs the village headmen that so many men are required from each village in proportion to the number of families living in it. The headmen have the duty of deciding who shall go. As the headman has no force at his disposal other than the levy of the villagers themselves, he is obliged to fulfil his duties with tact and justice, for decisions which outraged the opinions of the villagers could not be enforced. In this sense the government of rural China is truly democratic in practice.

The picture of course can easily be idealised, if the darker 622
side is ignored. Headmen, though forced to conform to the 661
opinion of the villagers as a whole on important matters, are often men of wealth and large landowners, and as such they tend to become the moneylenders of the village also. This means that an unscrupulous man can practise many petty tyrannies on those who owe him money or have offended him in some way, without the distant and indifferent government exercising any control. In former times a man who went too far might find his granary or his house fired at night, but the emphasis on bandit suppression has tended to make such acts of revenge too dangerous to-day. The system works well when the demands made upon it are traditional and regular, but if too great a strain is placed upon the resources of the villages, and the headman becomes in fact the agent of a grasping and extortionate régime, it speedily breaks down. Honest and just men refuse the invidious task of the headman, and less scrupulous elements intent on their own profit, take over these duties to curry favour with the government. Fortunately this has not happened in recent years in the Ta Li region, for though the heavy demands for forced labour on the great motor road were met with difficulty and grumbling, the government wisely realised

622 that the limit was approaching, and the further work on the
661 Yunnan-Burma railway, now in hand, has been carried out with paid labour. The reform of the land tax system, mentioned in an earlier chapter is also an indication that the government had become aware of systematic undervaluation of the land of the rich, certainly due to the connivance of village elders who were themselves wealthy landowners.

CHAPTER 5

"THE THREE RELIGIONS"

(1) *Ancestor Worship*

THE Chinese, it has been said, practise three religions; 771
Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism. The Min Chia, who have absorbed so much of the Chinese culture, also worship deities and practise rites which can be classified as Buddhist, Taoist and Confucian (or Ancestor Worship). But if one concludes from this that it is true to say that the Min Chia, or the Chinese, have three "religions", in the sense in which the word is understood in the West it would be a profound misapprehension of the real character of their beliefs. The educated classes, who are aware of the separate origin of the three systems, do not believe in any of them; the less educated, who practise the rites of all three, are not conscious of any such distinctions. In the Min Chia language, Buddhist Boddhisatvas, Taoist deities, local gods not in the Taoist pantheon, and ancestral spirits, are all described by one word, *ser*. The distinction between supernatural beings [776]
called *ser* and the ghosts of deceased persons, called *gur*, is the only one which is present in the mind of the ordinary Min Chia.

It would indeed be better, if it were possible, to forget the nomenclature and classification of religious beliefs derived from European studies of Chinese culture, since these introduce a false systematisation where no system exists, and create distinctions where none are known to the people themselves. The terms themselves are ill-defined and of such vague import as to be almost meaningless. Buddhism, when used to describe the Indian religion in its earlier phases, is a

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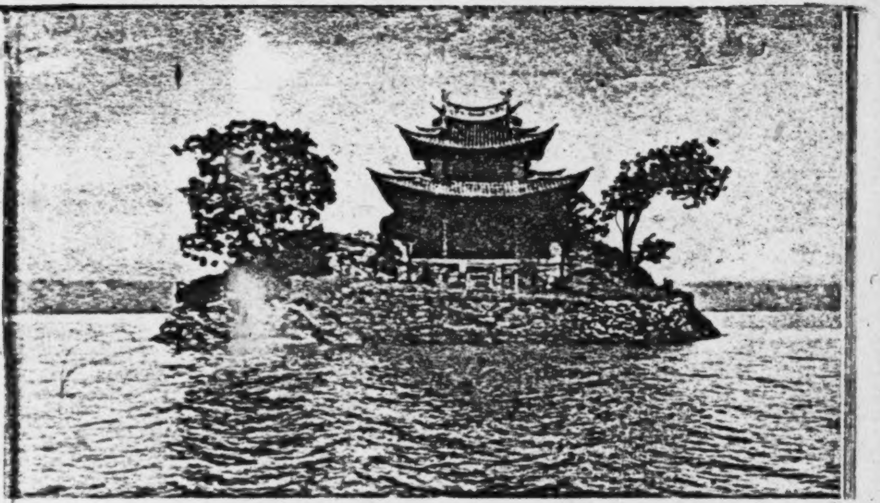

Kuan Yin island in Erh Hai lake.

533

Musician at the Gwer
Sa La festival.

[Face p. 94]

more or less precise term, but as a classification of rites practised, and beliefs held by the Min Chia to-day it is of limited application. Taoism can mean so many quite different things that it may be as well to list the principal meanings and then indicate which is intended when this word is used. Taoism is firstly the name of the ancient system of quietist philosophy developed in the fourth and third centuries B.C. Secondly it came to be the name of the slightly later system of astrology and alchemy which crystallised around the tradition that the early Taoist philosophers had become "Immortals". In the eleventh century the Sung Emperor Chen Tsung, for reasons of policy, elaborated an official polytheistic cult with a hierarchy of divinities comparable to the earthly hierarchy of imperial officials. This he labelled Taoism also. At the present time, in most parts of China, any cult, religious rite, practice or belief, which cannot be classified as Buddhist or connected with Ancestral worship, is described as "Taoist". In this chapter the word will be confined to the sphere of the old official cult, instituted first by Sung Chen Tsung and maintained by all subsequent emperors up to the Republic.

Confucianism, another loose term, in fact covers three quite separate things; the ethical and political teaching of Confucius and his disciples, which explicitly excluded all religious questions; the cult of Heaven of which the Chinese Emperors were the sole priests; and Ancestor Worship. The only link between the three is that none could be classified as Buddhism or Taoism. Here Ancestor Worship, or the Cult of the Dead, is all that need be discussed and therefore the term Confucianism will not be used. The practice of the Min Chia as regards these systems of belief can be outlined briefly before entering into detail. The Min Chia worship a large number of Gods, some of whom are Buddhist Boddhisatvas, some Official Taoist divinities, 771 some local deities. They also practise Ancestor Worship, there being a real distinction between the manner and the places in which the gods are worshipped, and those in which the rites of Ancestor Worship are performed.

771 356 One further source of confusion, not unrelated to the notion of "three religions" must be discussed. It is the common experience of all travellers in China, both Yunnan and other provinces, to find temples in poor repair, or ill-kept, and the attitude of the people to this neglect is one of casual unconcern. More than this, the people themselves seem to the European to have no reverence for their gods or their shrines. Men will eat meat and drink rice wine in a Buddhist temple, although wine and meat are forbidden to the Buddhist; they will allow anyone to occupy the shrine itself for a night's lodging, and they laugh, spit on the floor, and behave in an irreverent manner anywhere in the temple precincts. The traveller, or the missionary, who thinks of his own behaviour in a church, is shocked at this conduct and comes to believe that these peoples lack all true spiritual understanding, and practise three religions because they are incapable of devotion to any creed. Chinese of the educated classes, who are in fact agnostics, and hostile to the old religion as a survival of pre-revolutionary China, tend to confirm this opinion. But it is none the less mistaken.

771 If temples are neglected, they are also repaired, even rebuilt, and by public subscription. Hard earned money is spent by farmers who can ill afford any luxury. Women and girls will make long journeys to a temple on the day of festival, and spend relatively considerable sums of money on incense to burn at the shrines. Immense numbers of people collect at the temple festivals, and if many come for pleasure or recreation, great numbers also come to worship. It is not compulsion which brings the crowds and draws their money, for the government is at best indifferent, at worst

771 openly hostile to the old religious system. If people will take trouble and spend money on a religion disestablished and scorned by their rulers, it can only be because they believe in it.

The explanation of this paradox lies in a misunderstanding of the Chinese (and Min Chia) approach to a religious rite, and the nature of the idea of what is sacred to the European, and to the Chinese. To the West, whether Christian, Moslem or Hebrew, and one may add Hindu, the Church or other place of worship is itself sacred, the house of God, where men meet only to worship the deity in a communal rite. This idea is wholly absent from the Far East. To these peoples religion is essentially not a communal, but a personal, or at most a family affair. The most important rites take place, not in any public temple but in the privacy of the home. The temples of the gods are monuments of piety,
793 built to please, not to house, the deities. Thus the Buddhist
771 "priest" is wrongly described, for he is is not the father of a flock, nor a sacred person knowing more about the gods and how to serve them than a layman. He is at best a monk self-vowed to a life of abstention in order that he may be reborn nearer to Nirvana, and he is also a technician who can be called upon to perform wearisome rites for which the layman has neither time nor inclination. At a funeral, or in sickness, the Buddhist monks are called in to chant sutras, for a fee, just as the doctor is called in to prescribe.

771 There is no communal worship at a temple by the laity.
782 Men and women go to the festivals to burn incense and offer a cash at the shrines of the gods, individually, to acquire merit, avoid ill fortune, or in fulfilment of a vow given in time of sickness. At other times, if they visit a temple, they do not feel called upon to behave in any but the ordinary way.

771 As a practical working system the religion of the Min Chia

1. Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

therefore falls naturally into two divisions, the public worship of the gods, whether Buddhist or not, which is carried on at temples and shrines, and the private rites of Ancestor Worship, which are performed in the home or at the family tombs. A broad division between the part played by the two sexes follows the same line of cleavage. The majority of the worshippers at temple festivals are women and girls; men though present, either do not perform acts of worship, or are in a small minority in doing so. On the other hand the rites of Ancestor Worship are carried on by the male members of the family. Women are not excluded from these ceremonies, and play a part in them, but the important rôle is assigned to the men, and without their participation the rites could not be carried on. 771 771 572

It is not easy to determine whether, or to what extent this division represents a difference in belief rather than a mere traditional division of functions. Confucian teaching, the old style Chinese education, was undoubtedly hostile to, or rather, contemptuous of, the other cults, which it regarded as superstitious. This attitude is maintained by the modern education, and in consequence the educated and partly educated men tend to ignore the gods, or leave their worship to women. On the other hand all families make use of Buddhist monks and more or less Buddhist ceremonies for funerals, and on some other occasions. Old men of wealth are the best patrons of the temples and the most generous donors for restoration funds. Among the poorer classes the worship of the gods on occasions of specific need is in no way confined to women. It might be supposed that the overwhelming majority of women worshippers at the festival of Kuan Yin is due to the fact that this Boddhisatva is regarded as a feminine deity, patron of mothers, Kuan Yin the giver of sons. It is natural that here the women should outnumber the men. But the same majority of women worship- 771

771 pers is evident at the festival of The Dragon King of the Lake, in no way a goddess, and at that of Tung Yueh the Taoist King of the Underworld.

It is certain that there is, especially among the educated class, a feeling that worship of the gods should be left to women, but this idea is not sufficiently precise to give rise to rigid rules or taboos. On the other hand the rites of Ancestor Worship need a man to be performed, and cannot be left to the inclination or piety of women. Only a male descendant can make the sacrifices to the ancestral spirits, and failing sons a man must adopt a nephew or a distant relative to perform these rites. The elaborate rituals which are described in ancient Chinese literature, and which are or were, perhaps practised in modern times by great families in other parts of China, form no part of Min Chia practice. Ancestor Worship can be divided into a simple daily rite, and a few more ceremonial occasions recurring on fixed dates in the year.

769
353 Every family has an ancestral altar, usually a long table, which may be set up in the principal reception room on the ground floor of the house, or, often, in the long bare upper room, which by poor families is also used as a store room. On the table stand three ancestral tablets, representing the heads of the family in the previous three generations, and these are flanked by vases of flowers, and a few ornaments, with an incense burner in front. Sometimes, rather incongrously, a statue of Kuan Yin also finds a place on this altar. On the wall behind the altar red paper strips bearing the characters for Heaven and Earth are pasted, these rather vague powers, once worshipped by the Emperors, being
769 thus associated with the ancestral spirits. Before the morn-
788 ing and evening meals one of the male members of the household, usually the son of the house, comes to the altar, strikes a gong, and lights a stick of incense in the burner before the

tablets, and bows, He then fetches the bowls containing the 769
morning meal, and places them on the altar, again strikes 788
the gong, and waits with downcast eyes for about a minute. Then, bowing once more to the altar, he takes the dishes away and the meal is eaten.

This simple rite suffices to associate the spirits of the dead 769
with the daily life of their descendants and ensure their well- 796
being. On certain occasions in the year more elaborate ceremonies are performed. The first fourteen days of the 7th Lunar month, a period corresponding to the early part of August in the Solar Calendar, is traditionally the time when the spirits of the ancestors return to dwell in the family home and observe the conduct and condition of their descendants. On the night of the 15th of the 7th Month, when the spirits are due to depart, the ceremony called Shu Pao, "Burning the Bundles" is performed. At dusk an altar, usually a square table used at other times for meals, is set up in the courtyard in front of the main hall, where the altar of the ancestral spirits stands. It is covered with a piece of red embroidery and spread with a number of dishes of sweetmeats, cooked food, fruit, and six cups of rice wine. An incense burner flanked by two candles stands in the centre of the altar, and in front of it, on the courtyard floor, a brazier with a wood fire is kindled. This is flanked by clusters of incense sticks stuck into the crevices of the pavement.

The head of the family, or the senior male present, kneels to the right of the altar on a cushion, facing outwards, and one of the women hands him a pile of cardboard boxes covered with coloured paper, made to resemble Chinese books. On each of these is inscribed the name, date of birth and death, and age at decease of one ancestor of the family, and every ancestor has such a "book", while those of most importance have several, each with an identical inscription. Taking a pile of these "books" the head of the family reads

769 796 out the inscriptions one by one in a chanting voice, handing them as he finishes to one of the children,. who then lays them on the wood fire, while another member of the family, a wife or daughter, throws on to the fire strings of "spirit money"—coloured paper representing ingots of gold and silver.

Fresh piles of "books", which have been lying on the ancestral altar, are brought out and the process of reading out the inscriptions and burning the "books" continues until every deceased ancestor has been so honoured. As, in a wealthy family, the records so kept may go back several generations, and the number of individuals so remembered be over a hundred, the ceremony lasts a long time. When all have been read out and burned, the head of the family rises, and bows three times to the altar, while all the other members of the family, men and women in order of age pass behind the altar, and *k'e t'ou* three times—that is prostrate themselves and knock the forehead on the floor. Even the youngest baby is brought by its mother to make this sign of reverence. The head of the family then pours the cups of rice wine on to the ground before the altar, scattering a few drops from each cup into the fire, and takes pinches of food from the dishes and drops them into the fire. All proceed to the street gate where incense sticks are lighted and fire crackers are discharged, to speed the spirits on their way. This ends the rite. The fire is doused, the altar cleared away. The spirits have departed for another year.

The behaviour of all who take part in this rite is in marked contrast to the careless conduct observed at temples. There is here no laughing and conversation. Nothing but the voice of the head of the family chanting out the names and ages of the deceased breaks the silence, and the scene, lit only by the candles and the firelight, is impressive and solemn.

(I) ANCESTOR WORSHIP

It is characteristic of the Min Chia attitude to religious 769 practices that, although the Shu Pao ceremony is a rite of 796 Ancestor Worship, it has become associated with other 795 deities as well. On the day following the ceremony many people, particularly women, go to the temple of Tung Yueh, the Taoist King of the Underworld, and there offer prayers and burn incense for the repose of the spirits of the dead, with the same ritual as is used in the spring festival of this deity. The difficulty of reconciling the belief that the ancestral spirits have just been dwelling in the home, and the belief that they, or some of them, have been confined in the Taoist underworld until released by these sacrifices, does not appear to trouble the Min Chia mind. This is by no means the only instance in which conflicting theology is ignored in favour of the performance of differing rites serving the same general purpose.

Also connected with the Shu Pao ceremony is the custom 796 of releasing K'un Ming "lamps", in reality fire balloons ingeniously made of paper and bamboo lathes, which rise burning to great heights on still windless evenings, such as are common at this season of the year. These fire balloons take their name from the famous Chinese general of the third century A.D., Ch'u-k'o Liang, or Ch'u-k'o K'un-Ming, who first temporarily conquered Yunnan for the Western Han Dynasty. Legend relates that he used this device to send signals to detached bodies of his troops in his wars with the native princes of Yunnan. Although this is the explanation commonly given for the name of the fire balloons, it is admitted that they are never used till the night of the 14th of the 7th Month, the night of the Shu Pao ceremony, and subsequent nights for about a month. In spite of this rather faint connection with religion, no one is able to explain what function, other than that of entertainment, the release of these fire balloons is meant to fulfil. Releasing

796 K'un Ming lamps is part of the general celebration of the time, an appropriate custom, like decorating a house with holly at Christmas in England, which has no avowed connection with the purely religious ceremonies of the festival.

769 One of the principal festivals connected with Ancestor
527 Worship among the Chinese, is Ch'ing Ming, "Pure
788 Brightness" a day corresponding with April 5th, or a date
not far removed, according to the variations of the Lunar Calendar. This is the occasion when tombs are swept and repaired and good luck charms pasted on them, while the family holds a kind of ceremonial picnic party at the tombs in which the spirits of the ancestors are supposed to share. Among the Min Chia this custom is observed in a somewhat different manner. The actual date of Ch'ing Ming is in no way especially honoured, but at about the same time of year, April, when the days are warm and the rains have not yet begun, parties called *dso mu* "(going) up to the graves" are
[764] held. The graves at Ta Li and in the Ta Li district are invariably placed on the lowest slopes of the mountain, above the belt of cultivable land, and never among the actual fields[1]. Consequently to go to the graves is to go "up".

On any fine day in April, the Lunar Third Month, a family may decide to *dso mu*. Food and cooking utensils are loaded on to donkeys or carried by porters, rugs and cushions are brought, and the whole party starts out about eleven in the morning, the men walking together in front, the women trailing along behind, while the aged or infirm of either sex may ride a donkey or a pony. Guests not members of the family, nor even related to it, are invited, and the party may number as many as fifty people, children included. The graves are perhaps distant some two or three miles from the

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766 [1] An exception is made for those drowned in the lake. They are buried on the foreshore among the willow plantations which fringe the lake, never with the rest of the family on the mountain.

city among the pine woods which clothe the lower slopes. 769
Arrived there, rugs and cushions are spread out on the flat 527
terrace in front of the tombs, and a cooking fire is started at 788
a little distance. Sticks of incense are lighted and stuck in
front of each tomb. The women busy themselves cooking a
large meal, while the children play among the pine trees,
and the men and their guests, lie smoking in the shade or
ramble on the mountain side.

If the graves happen to be near some famous beauty spot,
such as the Wind Eye Cave "Fêng Yen Tung" (ruined
Buddhist rock shrines in a precipice about two thousand ft.
above the plain), or the tomb of Ber Wa, the White Prince,
legendary hero of the Min Chia, the men and their guests
will make an excursion to see it, but the women, busy with
their cooking, have no time for such recreations. When the 264
meal is prepared, and the men have returned, about four in 769
the afternoon, chopsticks and bowls are laid on the grass in 527
circles, and the guests form themselves into parties for the 788
feast. The men eat first, waited on by the boys of the family,
and the women last, when all the guests have been served.
The meal, though eaten informally seated on the grass, is
elaborate and tasty, certain dishes regarded as appropriate
for the occasion always being included, especially the *Huo
Kuo* or fire pot, a circular dish with a charcoal brazier in the
middle of it, in which meat and vegetables are cooked and
eaten at the table itself. There is also a considerable consumption of local rice wine.

Before the dishes are served to anyone, one of the
younger women, daughter-in-law or unmarried daughter,
takes them to the tombs and places a dish on the stone slab
before each tomb, and at the same time *k'e t'ou's* before the
grave. Thus the ancestors are associated in the feast and held 769
to partake of it also. When all is finished, and the party 788
begins to leave, the women in turn *k'e t'ou* before the graves 527

Paper horses prepared for a funeral.

Min Chia tomb with sacrificial offerings.

[Face p. 104]

769 and light new sticks of incense which are left burning there.
527 Men, on the other hand, do not perform these acts of
788 reverence on this occasion. The *dso mu* custom is thus partly a religious rite, and no doubt primarily so, but also a picnic and a welcome outing in delightful surroundings. Nor is it strictly limited to the tombs of the male ancestors of the family. On these occasions the descendants on the female side are also invited, and I have observed girls making obeisance to ancestral tombs which were not those of their own family, but of their mother's family. The custom of inviting a large number of guests in no way connected with the family (I myself was often invited in this way) differentiates the *dso mu* rite from the Shu Pao, which is private and for the family itself only. Unlike the Chinese Ch'ing Ming, it is customary to *dso mu* more than once a year, for the autumn month corresponding with the Solar October, when the rains are over, and the cold winds not yet begun, is equally favoured. Nor do families content themselves with one visit at spring and another in the autumn, for it is not uncommon to make two visits in the same season.

769 The atmosphere on these occasions is in no way solemn,
527 for the Min Chia do not have the feelings of terror and dread associated with graves in western cultures. The open hillside, with the graves scattered among the pine trees and rocks, has none of the gloomy associations of a cemetery, and tombs are not treated with the half concealed aversion masquerading as reverence with which we are familiar. The children play among their forbears' graves unconcerned, the elders recline in the shade of the monuments, or rest their backs against the sloping mounds. The atmosphere is informal, happy and intimate. The feelings about graves are rather those of pride at the excellence of the workmanship or the skill of the caligraphy on the inscription than thoughts of mortality. A Min Chia will show you his father's tomb

769 527 with the quiet pride with which a European might show his house. A beautiful piece of work, look at the size of the granite stones, and the purity of the white marble tombstone, admire the choice and caligraphy of the inscription, and all this cost so much money!

764 531 Tombs, indeed play a very important part in the life of the community. They are better built, and of more enduring materials, than the houses of the living, and they cost a great deal of money. The monument, made of dressed granite blocks quarried on the mountain, is of a pattern peculiar to Ta Li and its district. Usually about eight feet long and cylindrical in shape, it has a rounded top of fitted granite slabs and an arched front made of a single massive curved block. In the recess beneath this arch the white marble tombstone is fitted, closing what is apparently a tomb chamber. This is not so, however, for actually this stone structure is not the tomb itself, but a momument raised over the grave, which is only a deep trench excavated in the soil and lined with granite slabs. Thus what is visible, in spite of its suggestive shape, is only a false tomb, and is filled in with rubble stones. Carving is employed to adorn the arch and the marble slabs which support the tombstone. In early examples dating from the Ming dynasty *Chi lin* and dragons, or galloping horses, were the preferred motifs; to-day these are still popular, though less well executed, but the crossed flags of the Chinese Republic is a still more favoured design.

764 The inscriptions usually give the rank, if any, which the deceased bore in civil employment or in the army, and the age at death with the date. The name of the wife is also frequently found on the husbands' tomb as well as his own, and a pious inscription recording the elevation of the monument by the sons. A laudatory couplet offered by one distinguished man, and written by another, is added in the case of important personages. In the tomb illustrated, this couplet

764 was given by the Generalissimo, General Chiang Kai-shek, and written by General Lung Yun, Governor of Yunnan, the deceased having been a military officer of rank.[1]

Not every deceased member, even of a wealthy family has so elaborate a resting place. Those who do not survive to marry and leave children are not buried in the principal family graveyard, but on the lowest slopes, where their monuments are more simple and less enduring. Young children or babies are buried with little ceremony on pieces of vacant land near the city wall, and their graves are soon obliterated by weather and decay. Even the poor, however, try to raise money for a tomb which will remain, though they cannot afford dressed stone and must be content to have a monument of piled blocks of undressed granite. The cattle which graze on these slopes break down such tombs before long, and even the elaborate monuments of the wealthy of an earlier age are found in every state of ruin. Yet well built tombs of the fifteenth century, the Ming Dynasty, are still intact, their inscriptions legible and, when they have descendants living, repaired and maintained.

The earliest dated private tomb which I was able to locate had an inscription of the year A.D. 1426, and this was still in good repair. Such a tomb to-day would cost not less than 200 Silver dollars, and the least expense if dressed stone is used would be 50 Silver dollars, a heavy cost for the poorer classes.

766 Suicides, and criminals executed by the authorities, are not buried with the family. The former are interred at the base of the mountain on common land, and the latter are simply and crudely buried on the public fair ground outside the West Gate, where the low mounds which cover them are soon trodden down and obliterated. In accordance with

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[1] This distinction is equivalent to a decoration; no doubt the Generalissimo has secretaries who compose these couplets for such purposes, as he can hardly have the leisure to do so himself.

the belief that drowned persons have been claimed by the 766 Dragon of the Lake, the recovered corpses of those who lose their life in this way are buried on the foreshore, among the willows which line the water. They are given elaborate tombs if they were fathers of a family, just as if death had not been due to drowning, but they are never buried with the family on the mountain slopes. Graves are always orientated 787 in accordance with the instructions of a geomancer, but 766 they invariably face the lake at some angle, and are never faced towards the mountain. The orientation of graves is believed to be intimately connected with the repose of the dead, and if misfortune falls upon a family, or the ghost of the deceased is believed to walk, it is attributed to wrong orientation of the grave, and the monument is reconstructed accordingly.

In all parts of China the Lunar New Year, which falls early 527 in February, is the principal holiday in the calendar, and is celebrated by feasting and festivity. It is usual for shops to close, formerly for as long as two weeks, and even now very little business is done in the first half of the First Month. The 15th of the 1st Month, the last day of the Feast of Lanterns, was the old official end of the holiday season, a period which very much resembles the Christmas holidays of western Europe. In just the same way the New Year holiday is a time for family reunions, a festival in which the religious background is not so prominent as the secular feasting and holiday making. In Ta Li the Min Chia celebrate the New Year with rites, which though they may be affected by Chinese practice in the past, are now strange to Chinese visitors from the eastern provinces. These rites are performed privately in the home and are therefore akin to the Shu Pao ceremonies of Ancestor Worship described above. It is characteristic of Min Chia practice, however, to find Buddhist elements incorporated in the ceremony.

527 The morning of New Year's Day is saluted with a prolonged discharge of fire crackers at the front gate of the house and in the courtyard, but the Min Chia do not celebrate the last night of the old year by a more or less continuous fusillade of crackers as is customary in North China. As soon as the crackers are fired off the women of the household come out and light large sticks of incense, which are placed on either side of all the doors opening on to the courtyard, and before the front gate as well. Incense sticks and flowers are also placed on the altar of the ancestors in the main reception room, and the floor of this room is spread with fresh green pine needles. Doors and gateways are also decorated with green pine boughs, and new paper strips bearing the characters for good luck, wealth, happiness, etc., are pasted on to lintels and pillars.

527 Immediately the morning meal is eaten the women bring
769 out a square table and set it up as an altar in the courtyard,
788 just as in the Shu Pao ceremony. Covered with a rich piece of red silk embroidery it is spread with dishes of sweetmeats and cups of wine, but also on this occasion the ancestral tablets themselves are ranged in two rows facing each other along the sides of the altar, with an incense burner in the middle. Incense sticks are planted in the crevices of the courtyard before this altar, but there is no fire as in the Shu Pao ceremony. Meanwhile hired musicians, none of whom are in fact Buddhist monks, arrive with their instruments and are seated on both sides of the main reception room
[533] behind the altar table. They begin to play music and to recite sutras, male members of the family, especially the elder sons, taking a part in the playing of musical instruments from time to time. This music and recitation is kept up all day until about four in the afternoon. As soon as the musical recitation of sutras has started the members of the family, led by the eldest male present, and followed in order

of age by all others male and female, come out and *k'e t'ou* 527
(prostrate themselves) before the altar on which the ances- 769
tral tablets stand. Pinches of food from the dishes and drops 788
of wine from the cups are scattered and poured on the pavement before the altar by the head of the family.

During the morning the family is visited by members of collateral branches and relatives on the female side, who on arrival also *k'e t'ou* before the altar, while visiting friends not related, bow ceremoniously to the tablets of the ancestors. The tablets, regarded as the resting place of the spirits of the deceased, are in fact treated with the same courtesy as living parents or grandparents. Members of the family who go out from time to time to visit their relatives elsewhere pay the same respects to the tablets in each house at which they call. The chanting and music which have continued all day with brief pauses, cease about four in the afternoon, when the musicians, after being given some refreshments, depart. The altar is then removed and the family sits down to the New Year Feast. These ceremonies are explained as homage to the ancestors and an offering designed to assure their goodwill and protection for the coming year, while the association of Buddhist rites with the ceremony may be regarded as intended to secure the assistance of the gods also.

The behaviour of those present during these rites is not so reverent as during the Shu Pao ceremony, partly because the chanting and music continue all day, and daily tasks must be performed at the same time, partly because the atmosphere is one of gaiety and holiday making. While the actual prostrations before the altar are made with due reverence, the family as a whole pays little attention to the chanting of sutras and the music, which is the work of the hired musicians, only assisted for a short time at the beginning by members of the family. It is said that formerly these musicians were Buddhist monks, as the chanting of sutras would

527 769 788 suggest, but at present there are few Buddhist monks in the district, certainly not enough to perform these rites in every household rich enough to pay for them.

Similar rites, but without the altar and the ancestral tablets, are performed by the same musicians and assisted in the same way by members of the family, on the anniversary of the death of any important member of the family, three anniversaries following the death being commemorated in this way. This ceremony, although no Buddhist monks take part, is none the less inspired by Buddhist traditions, for it is intended to make sure that the spirit of the deceased is released from the Buddhist hell, and transported to the paradise of Amida, a doctrine which in Mahayana Buddhism has nearly displaced the belief in transmigration and reincarnation.

769 779 Beliefs about the status of the spirits of the dead are in fact confused by the conflicting theology of Buddhism and Ancestor Worship. It is clearly inconsistent to believe at once that the departed spirits can exercise a benevolent influence on the destiny of their descendents, and to believe that these same spirits are suffering tortures in the Buddhist inferno, or have been reincarnated as members of some other family or even race. The Min Chia do not make any attempt to reconcile these contradictions, professing ignorance of the real fate of the spirits, but performing all ceremonies which can propitiate or bring comfort to the dead. In spite of a long Buddhist tradition it is apparent that more weight is given to the belief in the power of the ancestral spirits than to the theology of the Indian religion. Many men will deny outright any belief in the Buddhist Boddhisatvas, expressing themselves in a popular rendering of the traditional Confucian argument against Buddhism, "Buddha is only a dead man, why should he have any power over we who are alive to-day?" The fact that this argument, if

valid, would equally dispose of the claims of the ancestral 769
spirits, seems to escape the notice of those who use it. 779

In view of the general ignorance of Buddhist theolog and the manner in which Buddhist beliefs have becom incorporated into systems originally distinct, it is not possible to discuss Buddhism among the Min Chia on a theoretical basis. The practice can be observed, but if any attempt is made to fit it into the theory of Buddhism as expounded by scholarly writers, a false systematisation would be the only result. The Boddhisatvas are recognised as deities, with certain powers, and are served with traditional rites on festivals. These ideas may be bad Buddhism, but they are the working practice of the Min Chia, and as such the subject of the next chapter. Nor will it be profitable, in the absence of records, to discuss whether Buddhism was formerly practised in a purer form by the inhabitants of Ta Li. The Kings of Nan Chao certainly erected the magnificent pagodas which still adorn the city, but no evidence exists to show whether the peasants of that distant age understood the religion of their rulers any better than they do to-day.

CHAPTER 6

"THE THREE RELIGIONS"

(2) *The Gods*

776 For the Min Chia peasantry Buddhism means the worship
779 of the greater Buddhist Boddhisatvas, who are thought of
796 as gods, but gods with a specialised function. Kuan Yin for example is the Goddess of Mercy, the patron of women and mothers, and of fishermen. Yen Wang, the King of the Underworld, is worshipped and propitiated to secure the release of souls from hell. In practice all the other Boddhisavtas such as Manjusri and also Amida Buddha and Maitreya, the Buddha to come, have no separate temples of their own, but are accomodated in a shrine in the Kuan Yin temples. To the Min Chia to-day Buddhism is really nothing more than the cult of Kuan Yin, for this Boddhisatva has acquired an importance which completely overshadows Amida Buddha himself. Thus the only great festival which is specifically Buddhist is in honour of Kuan Yin at her temple south of the city on the 19th of the 2nd Month, a date corresponding approximately to the 31st of March.

346 This temple is a large build-
779 ings round linked courtyards, entirely Chinese in style and decoration, and, though the site is old, the existing temple is quite modern. It was rebuilt about fifty years ago to replace the old one burned down by the Moslem rebels in the '70's. Since the great Buddhist monastery which once surrounded the Three Pagodas outside the North Gate shared the same fate, but has never been rebuilt, the Kuan Yin T'ang to the south of the city has become the principal

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Buddhist temple in the district. Outside the temple gates 346
there is a small village which takes its name, Kuan Yin
T'ang, from the temple itself, and across the open space 796
beyond the gate there is a large stage with dressing rooms 527
for the performance of theatricals. The performances given 545
here are watched by the crowd assembled in this market 779
square, and are free, as an inducement to visitors to come
to the temple festival. Almost every temple of any size has
such a stage with an open air auditorium.

Attracted in part by the chance to see a play free, very great crowds attend this festival of Kuan Yin. From early in the morning the road from the city is densely crowded with holiday makers who can refresh themselves, as they walk the four miles to the temple, with fruit and cakes sold by numerous hawkers along the roadside. At the temple village the scene is one of great activity. The usual restaurants and teahouses, which on ordinary days do a small business with travellers, are packed to overflowing, the street encumbered with stalls selling food, incense sticks, and children's toys. In the gate of the temple itself the monks are fully occupied selling incense sticks, charms and paper "spirit" money to burn at the shrines. To the greater part of the crowd the occasion is just a holiday, or an opportunity to do business, and see the play. Particularly is this so for the men, for though many go into the temple to see the scene, very few worship.

On the other hand most of the women have come 788
primarily for the religious aspect of the day, and it is they 779
who buy the incense sticks and the spirit money. Before every shrine in the temple precincts a large fire of incense sticks is kept burning by the offerings of these faithful worshippers, who visit each in turn. The act of worship is in each case the same. The devotees *k'e t'ou* before the shrine, throw a cash or two on to the embroidered cloth spread

788 before the image of the deity, and add a stick or two of
779 incense and some paper spirit money to the fire. At one shrine, that of Amida Buddha, a sort of religious cock-shy attracts great crowds. A curtain is suspended before the image with a narrow slit through which he can be seen. The worshippers endeavour to throw cash through the slit and hit the god, and to do this is regarded as very lucky. The numerous coins which miss slide down the curtain into a wooden chest to swell the temple funds. The economic aspect of the festival from the point of view of the monks is indeed everywhere quite apparent.

796 The only shrine which has what might be called a set ser-
779 vice is that of Kuan Yin herself, in the main hall. Here all day monks chant sutras to the accompaniment of music while the lay worshippers come and go, prostrating themselves and burning their incense at the shrine door. Elsewhere, in corners of the courtyards, or at the foot of one of the great trees which shade them, circles of pious women tend an altar and an incense fire throughout the day. Standing in a half circle before the altar they chant sutras, or often simply repeat the names of Kuan Yin and Amida, keeping time on little gongs and wooden drums made in the shape of a fish. These women belong to societies which take a vow of partial or total abstinence from meat and wine, and meet at the festivals to perform these rites. They set up their own altar, a simple table covered with dishes of fruit and sweetmeats, and burn their incense before it. They are in no sense priestesses, for they are married women, usually elderly, who have joined a society of abstainers, the object of which is to acquire merit individually. Nor do they confine themselves to the worship of one god. At the festival of Tung Yueh, the Taoist King of the Underworld, and at that of the Mountain God and the Lake Dragon King, the same women go through the same rites.

(2) THE GODS

The festivals of these deities are in fact in every way 796
similar to that of Kuan Yin. At the festival of Tung Yueh, the 779
Taoist King of the Underworld, there are some slight varia- 775
tions. In front of the main shrine of this temple there is a large water tank crossed by a low bridge of stone. Here curious rites are performed intended to assist the dead to escape from hell. Little cheap pottery bowls with a lighted candle stuck in them are launched on the waters of the tank, and the worshipper endeavours to steer the bowl under the bridge into the other part of the tank, and so to the further side of it. If this is successfully performed it is believed to be an omen that the soul of the deceased person has escaped from hell. At the same time little ladders made of bamboo, the size of toys, are lowered end on into the water, also with the intention of helping the dead to escape from the underworld. It is not easy to steer the bowls with their candles still alight to safety, for the worshipper must not touch the bowls, only being allowed to swish the water about with a stick and so create currents which waft the bowl through the narrow opening of the bridge. Consequently the surface of the water is soon strewn with candle ends and the bottom of the tank with sunken bowls.

It might be supposed that these evil omens would have a depressing affect on the crowd and the unsuccessful worshippers, but in fact the whole performance seems to be more in the nature of a game than a religious rite. The theoretically solemn business of liberating a soul from torment is left to the unskilful hands of small children, or the too vigorous splashings of schoolboys, while an irreverent crowd of their playmates cheers a success or laughs de-
risively at a failure. Young men can be heard laying odds on [525]
one bowl or against another, a striking instance of the gambling spirit intruding into what was once, perhaps, a truly religious rite.

735 842 796 779 Associated with this festival of Tung Yueh is a curious custom which has given it the name of the beggars' festival. Not only all the genuine whole-time beggars from the whole countryside assemble to line the road to the temple and crave alms, but also many hundreds of the poor who are childless. It is believed that if a childless couple make an offering with money obtained by begging, their prayers will be granted and the woman will conceive. For nearly a mile from the north gate to the temple itself the path is lined on both sides with these mendicants, and it is considered becoming to give at least one cash to each. Over a hundred of these almost valueless coins go to a dollar nickel, so the expense is not great. No one, however, can explain why the King of the Underworld should be associated with childbirth rather than Kuan Yin the goddess of mothers.

796 779 Kuan Yin and Tung Yueh are the only gods strictly Buddhist or Taoist which have great festivals in the Ta Li district, the other festivals being in honour either of no specific deity, or of the Lake Dragon, and Sai Sur, the Mountain God, which are local deities in no way connected with Taoism. The festival of the Mountain God, held at his principal temple at the base of T'sang Shan about two miles from the city, takes place in May, but here the ritual is in every way exactly a repetition of that observed at the Kuan Yin T'ang, except that there is no play performed, since the stage was ruined by a fire some years ago and is only now being rebuilt. The fact that the temple authorities have gone to this expense may indicate a realisation of the importance of giving theatricals if a large attendance is to be expected. On this occasion many of the worshippers as well as the sightseers make a further climb up to the Chung Ho temple, situated about two thousand feet above the city in a beautiful pine wood. Most go up simply for the view, which is superb, but the temple shares in the festival and incense is

burned there also, although it is dedicated to Yu Huang, the 796 Jade Emperor, supreme deity of official Taoism, and not to 779 the Mountain God. A well-kept shrine to the Mountain God is maintained just outside the limits of this temple, possibly as an inducement to the worshippers who might not otherwise make the effort to climb so high. This is one more instance of the characteristic Min Chia indifference to theology and the essential unity of the so-called "three religions."

The dates chosen for these festivals, almost all either in the spring or autumn, the two seasons when the weather is best, indicate the practical ends in view. In summer when the rains are heavy, few people could be induced to risk a long climb up the mist-wrapped mountain. Equally the winter, a season of high winds, which make boating unpleasant and dangerous, would be unpopular for the festival of the Lake Dragon, when boating expeditions are one of the attractions. This festival is therefore held on the 8th of the 8th month, about the twelfth of September, when the rains are almost over and the winter winds not yet begun. The local Chinese call this the Dragon Boat Festival, after the famous Chinese holiday which falls on the 5th of the 5th month, but in fact it has nothing to do with the Chinese celebration in honour of the poet and statesman, Chü Yuan-Ming who was drowned in the Mi Lo river in Hunan in the second century B.C. A certain similarity in the ritual has been either copied from the Chinese, or more probably arisen from the nature of any water holiday. The real Dragon Boat Holiday, in the 5th Month, is not celebrated at all by the Min Chia, although many of the Chinese shops shut for the day and the schools close. In Ta Li it is only a secular holiday observed by Chinese institutions, without religious significance.

The temple of Lur Wa, the Dragon King, is on the shore

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

796 of Erh Hai lake, in the small village called Der Ser Mo by
779 the Min Chia, and, after the temple, Lung Wang Miao by
the Chinese. The old buildings were wrecked by the great
346 earthquake of 1925, but have been partially rebuilt. The
779 great hall of the temple and a detached pavilion built on an
796 artificial island connected with the shore by a bridge are all
that are now standing. This temple differs from any Buddhist or Taoist shrine by having no image of the deity. Instead there is a large lacquered tablet on the altar inscribed with the name and title of Lur Wa, and behind the altar a rather fine mural painting of the Dragon emerging from dense rolling rain clouds. In the courtyard before this hall, still encumbered by the ruins of old buildings, and on the open space between the temple and the shore, crowds of worshippers, as usual mainly women, perform the accustomed
779 rites of prostration and incense burning. As at the Kuan Yin
796 temple, hawkers sell incense and spirit money, while the
societies of women abstainers chant their endless repetition of the name of the god before improvised altars. The island pavilion is thronged with worshippers who are busy releasing fish and eels and scattering rice on the water. This custom, called in Chinese "*fang shêng*" "to release life", has no doubt been borrowed from Buddhism. Its purpose is to acquire merit by saving the lives of creatures in danger of death, in accordance with the Buddhist prohibition against the killing of any living creature. As interpreted here it is supposed to be pleasing to the Dragon King, the lord of the lake and all that is in it, who will thus be more disposed to spare the lives of fishermen who, for the rest of the year are engaged not in releasing fish, but in catching them.

In practice, as everyone knows quite well, the fisher folk have been exceptionally busy for several days catching and preserving alive the fish and eels which they sell to the worshippers on the day of the festival. The fact that here

one does see many men, fishermen, engaged in this rite of 779
releasing fish, perhaps proves that it is taken more seriously 796
as an act of propitiation than most of the temple rituals.

For the great majority of those who crowd the shores of 527
the lake on this day the attraction is not worship at the 796
temple but boating picnics. Almost every family from the city, Chinese or Min Chia, hires a boat for the day, while the poor take places in one of the big cargo ships, devoted for the day to pleasure cruises. Many of the boats are decorated with coloured paper streamers and flowers either artificial or real, lotuses, sunflowers and paper roses (the real variety not being in season). This custom gives the festival its Min Chia name, Yo Huor Yeh, "Gay Flower Boats," a fact which may indicate that the custom has no relation to the Dragon Boats of other parts of China. When a Min Chia name is employed it is a sure indication of something ancient and independent of Chinese influence.

The boating expeditions, though largely pure pleasure excursions, always follow a set course. No boats merely sail about the lake at random. Close to Der Ser Mo village there is one of three large lagoons connected with the lake by a narrow channel. The boats first make a tour of this lagoon, then pass out into the main lake and enter the other lagoons in turn, returning to Shier Yu village at the mouth of the first lagoon. No one has any explanation for this set course, from which they never depart, although it may be repeated several times in the course of the day. When asked, Min Chia either say that it is the custom, or explain it by saying that landsmen are afraid to go far out on to the lake. This latter explanation is clearly nonsense for the lake is in constant use as a means of communication, and at this season is quite calm. It is an example of an explanation invented on the spur of the moment to satisfy the questioner.

Just as the Chinese Dragon Boat Festival of the 5th 796

796 173 Month commemorates the tragic death of an ancient poet, the Min Chia of Ta Li have a festival which is equally primarily the commemoration of an historical event, although it has now acquired a certain religious significance. In A.D. 731, Pi Lo-ko, one of the most celebrated Kings of Nan Chao, and the actual founder of the present city of Ta Li, planned to entrap and murder the five chief subordinate princes of the kingdom, who appear to have had at that time a more than feudal independence. According to one account these five were the Princes of Mêng Hua, Pao Shan, Chien Ch'uan, Mi Tu and Têng Ch'uan, all cities of west Yunnan. The Princes were invited to a banquet which was held in a tower, or two storied pagoda-like structure, the traditional site of which is marked by a small temple just beyond the north-west corner of Ta Li city wall.

The Prince of Têng Ch'uan suspected treachery, but consented to go, his wife having induced him to wear an iron bracelet, though the story does not relate whether this was a charm or not. When the five Princes had dined and were partly intoxicated, their host the King excused himself and left, whereupon the building was immediately fired, combustibles having been placed in the lower story. All the Princes perished in the blaze, and even their bodies were consumed, so that when their wives came to seek them for burial, only the wife of the Prince of Têng Ch'uan succeeded in identifying her lord by the iron bracelet which he had worn. In raking among the ashes her fingers were burned and blistered.

796 On the night of the 24th of the 6th Month, about the 30th of July by the Solar Calendar, this event is recalled by curious rites. The women, in memory of the Princess of Têng Ch'uan's burnt fingers, dye their finger tips with a red juice, and at nightfall every family sets up large torches outside the street gate. In the country the farmers take

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torches and run round the boundaries of their fields waving them, while in some villages a stack of hay decorated with a flag, no doubt symbolizing the fatal tower, is fired at nightfall. The young married men then make a rush through the flames to secure the flag, it being believed that he who gets the flag will have a son before the year is out. The burning of torches in the streets and round the fields is believed to drive away sickness, and it is considered courteous to wave your torch in a friend's face, as it will bring him good health for the year.

During the day the usual festival rites of incense burning enlivened by a stage play, take place at the little temple which marks the traditional site of the massacre, the play being a version of the historical story of the Five Princes, and not as is usual, a standard Chinese play unconnected with the festival. This play is acted in the Chinese manner, and in Chinese, but it does not appear to be known elsewhere, the whole festival being quite local to Ta Li and the villages round about. A month later, on the 23rd of the 7th Month, the date on which the widow of the Prince of Têng Ch'uan is said to have died of grief, many families hold a feast to honour her memory.

It is curious that this massacre should be so long remembered, for King Pi Lo-ko reigned for many years after the fatal year A.D. 731, and was succeeded by his son. It does not seem likely that either would have approved the commemoration of an event which, however necessary for reasons of state, must have seemed to the King better forgotten.

Another festival local to the Ta Li region, and in no way connected with any rite known to Chinese religious custom, is held in the spring. This festival is called in Min Chia "Gwer Sa La", a name which cannot be translated as its meaning has been lost, the Min Chia themselves being unable to give any explanation of the words. By the Chinese it is called "Jao Shan Lin" or "Winding (among) mountains and woods", but this name is not admitted by the Min Chia and is not in fact descriptive, for the festival has no connection with either the mountain or the forests. Although the occasion is not recognised by the Chinese as a holiday, and is indeed frowned upon by the government, it is for the Min Chia one of the most important festivals of the year, a kind of country carnival, in which the city plays no part. The participants are Min Chia peasants from the villages, no Chinese taking any part in it, although many of the city people come out to witness the ceremony.

In recent years the government has attempted to suppress this festival on the ground that it had unseemly features, but although proclamations forbidding it were posted in 1936 and 1937, no attempt was made to suppress it by force, and no attention to the prohibition was paid by the people. In 1938 the government ceased even this nominal interference and the rites were held as before. The festival is held on the 25th of the 4th month of the lunar calendar, a date corresponding to a day at the end of May or in the first week in June according to the year. In 1938 this date was the 24th of May, in 1937 the 3rd of June. It may here be observed that this date falls in the margin of two weeks between the wheat harvest gathered at the end of May, and the breaking of the monsoon, which makes possible the transplanting of rice, in the second week of June.

Thus the festival is held after the wheat harvest has been gathered, but before the rice has been planted. This is not an absolute rule. Wheat may still be un-harvested, rice already being planted when the festival is held. It does not, therefore, act as a signal to begin work on the rice transplanting. On the other hand the season is a busy one unsuitable to a festival held merely for pleasure or as a holiday.

(2) THE GODS

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On the day before the Festival, i.e. the 24th of the lunar month, young men from the villages south of Ta Li start to travel north along the old track which connects the villages lying at the base of the mountains. They wear ordinary clothes and their only departure from the routine of a normal journey is that they halt to burn incense and *k'e t'ou* at shrines along the road, the shrines of the local deities of the road, and the Mountain God. No Buddhist temple is visited. Those who pass through Ta Li itself used to worship in this way at the temple of the City God, the official Genius Loci, but since the cult of this deity is not maintained under the republic, and the temple was destroyed in an earthquake in 1925, this is no longer done.

Fifteen miles north of the city the travellers stay for the night at the large village of Hur Chieh, called by the Chinese Hsi Chou, where they lodge in the inns or at the homes of relatives and friends. Next morning, the day of the festival, they form parties and begin to travel southwards, this time by the path along the lake shore, which connects the riparian villages. These parties are composed of from four to eight dancers and four or five musicians. The dancers are young men, but not necessarily unmarried, the musicians may be of any age, and are often elderly. The dancers wear fantastic clothes, not a set costume, but a medley of ordinary clothing worn loosely or awry, with coloured streamers pinned on to their shoulders and arms. They wear a piece of coloured cloth, usually red, round the head, and this is sometimes further decorated with the red woollen pompoms worn by some Min Chia girls in their silver headdresses. It is a question whether these dancers are not, or once were, meant to be dressed as women. For the most part their costume, silk trousers and unbuttoned coats with the sleeves hanging loose, decorated with coloured streamers, is not sufficiently precise to say

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Dancers at the Gwer
Sa La festival.

Village temple to Ku'ei Hsing.

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[Face p. 124]

796 whether it is really meant in some cases to be a feminine costume, as Min Chia women and girls also all wear trousers, and coats of similar loose cut. Some of the dancers, however, do wear straw sandals with coloured thread and red woollen pompoms on the toes, which resemble the sandals worn by girls on market days. All the dancers wear spectacles or dark glasses, and carry fly whisks or cleft willow wands in their hands. The wands have a coin jammed into the cleft. Usually they also have ears of wheat stuck into the nostrils, held in the lips, or behind the ears.

They approach a village preceded by the musicians, who for their part wear ordinary clothes except for wreaths of willow branches bound round the head. At the entrance to the village, where there is a cross roads or a space by a large tree, the party halts and dances, surrounded by a dense throng of spectators. These, the villagers and people from the city and round about, wear their best clothes and, especially the children, wear small paper charms either crescent shaped or in the form of a Pa Kua design, on the side of the face. Many children and some men and women also have little amulets of coloured wool in human form hung round their necks. The dancers face each other in pairs, rarely more than two pairs at once, as the space is insufficient. They dance with a reeling gait swinging their bodies from the hips, lolling their heads, rolling their eyes and assuming grotesque expressions, while they tap each other and themselves on the shoulders, breast, and back with their fly whisks or willow wands, and wave a piece of coloured cloth in their left hands. As they dance they half chant, half declaim, in a high pitched voice similar to that used on the Chinese stage, their remarks, which are hard to catch, being definitely lewd or obscene, as is shown by the laughter of the men and the blushes of the girl spectators.

This performance lasts a few minutes, and then the party passes on to another part of the village, giving about three dances in each village. At intervals of from a quarter of an hour to half an hour other parties arrive and give exactly similar performances, though the funny remarks are not the same, and some make a bigger hit with the crowds than others. The final dance is always given by each party in the open square of Mer Ger Yu village, about four miles from Ta Li, on the shore of the lake. Here the performance ends, and the dancers and musicians are entertained, as they finish, to a feast served under a canopy in the village square. When they have finished this meal they depart to their homes without waiting for the conclusion of the festival.

The concluding rite is somewhat different. At about four in the afternoon the tablet of the Village Ancestor (*Ber Dser*) of Mer Ger Yu is brought out of its temple and placed on a litter similar to a bride's sedan chair, decorated with red cloth and paper streamers, rosettes and artificial flowers. It is then carried in procession attended by a crowd of villagers and other spectators to a point about one mile north of Mer Ger Yu, the point where the lands of Mer Ger Yu adjoin those of the next village to the north. Here the tablet and its attendants await the coming of the last party of dancers, and when they arrive the whole procession returns to Mer Ger Yu, the dancers preceding the litter of the tablet, and dancing more or less continuously all the way. The crowd follows behind waiving willow branches. In the village the final dance is given before the temple of the Village Ancestor, and the tablet is thereafter taken out of the litter and replaced in its temple. The dancers and musicians have their feast and everyone disperses as dusk begins to fall.

The Min Chia give three explanations of this ceremony. To some it is done to honour the Village Ancestor of Mer

Ger Yu, but they cannot explain why, if this is the case, the dancers should be men from other villages rather than inhabitants of Mer Ger Yu itself, nor can they explain why the dances take place in half a dozen other villages to the north as well as at Mer Ger Yu. Yet the connection with the Village Ancestor of Mer Ger Yu certainly exists, since the tablet plays a conspicuous rôle in the final rite, and the whole ceremony ends there. Others say that the main purpose is to rejoice at the success of the wheat harvest and bring benefit to the rice crop which is then being planted. One may observe that the wheat crop is not very important to the Min Chia, and that the festival takes place on a fixed day whether the harvest has been good or bad, or is still ungathered due to early rains (this was the case in 1938). On the other hand, ears of wheat are certainly carried in the mouths and nostrils of the dancers and musicians, and willow boughs, an emblem of spring, are also worn round the head or waved in the hand. If the rites are concerned with the rice crop it is curious that wheat should be used, and no attention paid to the rice fields.

No explanation of the limited route of the processions is forthcoming. Only part of the Ta Li plain is covered, and only about half of the villages on the lake shore, the limit being reached before the northern extremity of the plain, and before the villages nearest to the city are reached. Der Ser Mo, the temple of the Dragon of the Lake, is for example not included in the itinerary. Yet the dancers do not belong to these villages, but to those which are not visited. A festival designed to benefit the crops of the district covering so restricted an area seems inadequate. The use of willow branches in rain-imploring processions in other parts of China is common, but the Gwer Sa La takes place whether the rains have started or not, and in the climate of Ta Li drought is unknown, though the rains are sometimes

a few weeks late. No Min Chia regards the rite as designed 796
to seek rain.

The use of lewd or suggestive remarks by the dancers, the fact that their dancing imitates drunkenness or perhaps ecstasy, the disarray of their clothing and the similarity of some of the costumes to those of women, suggest another origin for the festival. It is said that in former times, apparently within the lifetime of living men, the girls of the villages where the dances are held surrounded the dancers and sang songs, and it must be remembered that the dancers came from another group of villages. The general use of charms in the shape of human beings, especially by women and girls must also be noticed. These charms are of two kinds, those made of coloured wool in human shape which are hung round the neck, and small stick-on round labels, the size of a shilling, which are pasted on to the side of the forehead. Some of these are decorated with the Eight Diagrams (Pa Kua) well known throughout China, others with a crescent moon.

No Min Chia was able to explain just who the dancers 791
were, how they were chosen, or what qualifications they must possess, but it is perhaps possible to throw some light on this point by considering the character and behaviour of a class of exorcists among the Min Chia, called Sai Dser, about whom much secrecy is observed. The name "Sai Dser" in Min Chia might well mean "Western people" or "Temple folk" or "Fairy people" for as the Min Chia language is not written, a certain ambiguity always exists about proper names formed of words with two or more uses. Actually no Min Chia with whom I spoke was able, or willing, to say definitely which of the above meanings was correct. It would seem that the last was the most probable, but if that is correct it involves a grammatical irregularity, since the word for a fairy is "*sai*" and

791 the classificatory particle is "*ni*" thus a "fairy" is "*Sai a ni*"—whereas the Min Chia for "an exorcist" would be "*Sai dser a ni*"; the term *Sai Dser*, possibly meaning Fairy Man, would be one compound word.

The Sai Dser are in ordinary life peasants like their neighbours, owning land and cultivating it. They only perform their exorcist functions on occasion, when called upon, but they hand their arts down from father to son, and it is said that they do not ever recruit outsiders. In this way they differ from the Shamans of the Northern Steppes who are in part recruited from children of suitable temperament or neurotic individuals unrelated to the existing Shamans. The Sai Dser are called upon in cases of sickness, when the patient is believed to be possessed by an evil spirit or a demon of disease. In some cases they merely advise the family to sacrifice a fowl at the shrine of the Mountain God, or at that of some other local deity whom the family have neglected. In all cases this is the first advice given, the Sai Dser only performing their special rites when sacrifice has failed to alleviate the patient's distress.

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791 The rite performed by the Sai Dser is called "*Tiao Gur*", meaning to "dance (out) the ghost". "*Gur*" is a word commonly used for malevolent ghosts of deceased persons, but also used for demons, which are in fact scarcely distinguished from them. The Min Chia do not attribute all sickness to the action of malevolent spirits, but have no hard and fast line between the kind of disease which is regarded as caught by infection or contagion such as leprosy, and those less easily diagnosed which are believed to be caused by possession. The name used by the Sai Dser for their rite clearly expressed the belief that its purpose is to dance out the ghost which has possessed the patient.

This dance is performed by two Sai Dser at a time, and closely resembles the dancing at the Gwer Sa La, except for the fact that one Sai Dser, though a man, is dressed unmistakably as a woman. The Sai Dser dance round the patient, reeling and swaying, chanting in a high pitched blurred voice so that the words they use cannot be distinguished by those present, for these chants, though I believe partly impromptu, are secret formulas which give control over the ghosts. Min Chia witnesses of the rite at which I was also present, afterwards told me that some of the words used were obscene, but that they could not catch the sense of the context. As at the Gwer Sa La the costumes of the Sai Dser were fantastic, and worn in a disordered fashion. The whole rite thus bore a striking similarity to the dances performed by a pair of participants in the Gwer Sa La. 788 791

When it was suggested that the dancers in that festival were Sai Dser, Min Chia informants evaded giving a direct answer, saying that no one knew who the Sai Dser were, or that they were unacquainted with the identity of the dancers at the Gwer Sa La. Informants were embarrassed at these questions and appeared to be somewhat ashamed of the Sai Dser and their activities. In fact the Sai Dser are surrounded with a good deal of mystification. It was a long time before I could hear of them, and still longer before it was possible to witness their rite. This is very rarely performed in the city, and I believe this is because the authorities are hostile to such rites. The same hostility towards the Gwer Sa La ceremony is explained by the Chinese as due to its lewd character, which is certainly not very conspicuous, but the Chinese declare that formerly it was accompanied by indecent behaviour and sexual licence. This is not the case at present, and Min Chia informants, while not directly denying that this may have been so, say they never heard of it. The identity of the dancers in the Gwer Sa La with the Sai Dser cannot be established, but one may observe that if any young man can perform in the Gwer Sa

788 La, dancing in the manner of the Sai Dser, it is not easy to
791 see how the latter preserve their monopoly of the *Tiao Gur* ceremony which so closely resembles the dances of the Gwer Sa La.

796 The general attitude towards the Gwer Sa La is that of holiday making rather than of religious observance. To most people it is a day of carnival, a rare spectacle breaking the monotony of village life, something to go and watch. The school children are given a day off, everyone dresses in their best, and those who have houses in the villages along the processional route invite friends from the city to pass the day with them. The festival also attracts the usual crowd of hawkers and itinerant vendors of fruit, melon seeds, cakes and sweetmeats, who establish themselves along the wayside to catch the custom of the waiting spectators. The making of the charms worn on this occasion by practically everyone present also provides plenty of work for the village women for a long time before the festival, and these charms are sold not only along the roadside but even in the city of Ta Li. Mer Ger Yu, where the rites end, and which is also the nearest point to the city on the processional route, is crowded with visitors, who must be fed, and the day becomes a market of some importance drawing merchants from Hsia Kuan and Ta Li as well as from the villages across the lake. For Mer Ger Yu the economic aspect of the Gwer Sa La is at least as important as the religious. Probably this is one powerful reason why the prohibitions issued by the *Hsien* government fall on deaf ears, although as has been mentioned, there is some reason to suppose that certain aspects of the ceremony have been discontinued in recent years, possibly as a result of government disapproval. The participation of girls in the rite, even if they merely stood and sang songs (perhaps somewhat lewd in character) would be shocking to old-fashioned Chinese ideas, and the dis-

appearance of this feature is no doubt due to official pressure.

To some extent the Gwer Sa La is felt by Min Chia peasants to be especially their own rite, one in which the city folk, and therefore the Chinese and half Chinese, have no part. They do not mind the spectators from the city coming out to look, but they do feel that the rites are in some way bound up with the country and its farmers, and are not a matter for regulation by city people and government officials.

CHAPTER 7

"THE THREE RELIGIONS"

(3) *Magic and Myth*

776 If the importance of their festivals and the size and flourishing condition of their temples be taken as criteria, the four most important gods of the Min Chia are Kuan Yin, the Boddhisatva, Lur Wa, the Dragon King of the Lake, Sai Sur the God of the Mountain, and Tung Yueh the Taoist King of the Underworld. But there are also a number of lesser deities some of whom have small temples, while others are only honoured with improvised shrines. As well as these there are the Ber Dser, the founder ancestors of each village, who of course have their temple in the village. Their cult is perhaps more in the nature of Ancestor Worship; although, as has been shown earlier, they are not necessarily the actual ancestors of the villagers.

The cult of K'uei Hsing, a stellar deity, is of Chinese origin. The Chinese constellation K'uei corresponds in part to the Great Bear of the West, and the deity who resides in this starry abode is in China a patron of literature. In the Ta Li district this cult has spread from other parts of Yunnan where it is well developed. K'uei Hsing is supposed to be also a slayer of demons and a protector against disease, and therefore his temple, always a two-storied detached tower, is built on the south west edge of the village, the side most exposed, according to Chinese belief, to evil influences. No festival is associated with K'uei Hsing, though his shrine is often found in the temples of the principal deities, and gets its share of incense at the festivals held there.

Ao Yu, represented on the eaves of temples as a fish with chicken feet, is to the local Chinese and Min Chia the god of the earth and therefore of the dreaded earthquakes. So vast is this monster of the deep earth that the mere twitching of one of the antennæ which grow above his eyes is sufficient to cause a major earthquake. No actual shrines to Ao Yu exist, but he is always represented prominently on the eaves and roof ridges of temples and gates (and even on the Moslem Mosque!) The cult appears to be the confusion of two things, one the chicken footed monster of Buddhist mythology, and secondly the Chinese Atlas, also called Ao, but who to the Chinese is a turtle and carries the world on his back.

Two minor deities connected with the lake seem to have functions which impinge on those of Lur Wa the Dragon King. Tai Po, a Chinese name meaning the Great Mother, or Venerable Lady, has a small tumbledown shrine on the shore of the lake at the village of Shier Yu. No image of the deity exists, but a tablet with the name "Tai Po" stands upon the fire-blackened altar, and is flanked by tablets bearing the names of two minor dragon spirits, the water dragon and the fire dragon, who do not otherwise appear in other temples. The cult of Tai Po is confined to women, and men informants were even unable to say exactly what the functions of this deity were, but it would seem that Tai Po is a wind goddess, and her shrine by the lake shore is appropriate in this case. Women, apart from the usual acts of worship, the *k'e t'ou* and incense burning, also sacrifice a fowl at this shrine from time to time.

The cult of Gu Lao—a Min Chia name of unknown meaning—is confined to the boat people and the villages of the eastern shore from which these folk mostly come. It would appear to be a variant of the Lake Dragon cult, perhaps a less official version. Gu Lao is a spirit, according to some the spirit of a long dead mortal, who from time to

776 time manifests himself in the shape of a short snake. It is stated that Gu Lao thus appears when stormy weather is expected, and is found on one of the boats, never on land. The boatmen then immediately sacrifice a chicken or even a pig, but only the head of the victim is offered to Gu Lao, who thereupon dives overboard, and the weather improves. The boatmen will not sail unless this rite has been performed if Gu Lao has been seen on a ship. Unfortunately his appearances are rare and I was never able to witness the rite, or to catch a glimpse of Gu Lao in his snake shape. It is, however, a fact that the people of the eastern shore never call a snake by the usual word, but always call it "Gu Lao". One may observe that in other parts of China also the snake is regarded as a dragon in disguise, or what one might call in "undress uniform". Eels are common in the lake and there are also water snakes, the chance discovery of these in the bilge of a boat or close by in the shallows is probably the foundation of the Gu Lao legend.

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778 Apart from these named and personified deities there exist a large number of "*ser*" that is, spirits, who are associated with various places or ancient monuments. Thus the god of the roads is worshipped at numerous cross roads by simply burning a stick of incense at the foot of a tree or a stone. Wells and springs, especially the very hot spring of sulphurous water near Erh Yuan city north of Ta Li, are often regarded as under the care of a *ser*, who is worshipped in the usual way, by burning incense. The hottest spring near Erh Yuan is in fact regarded as sacred and no evaporation of sulphur is carried on there, instead it is surrounded with incense sticks and paper flags, a form of worship which may perhaps owe something to imitation of Tibetan prayer flags. Certain large rocks scattered over the lower slopes of T'sang Shan, some of which have in past times had Buddhas engraved on them, are now regarded as sacred,

usually acting as shrines to the Mountain God, whose name 776
is sometimes chiselled on a smooth face. The enormous 778
evergreen trees called by the Chinese *tung ching shu*, "Winter Green Tree", a kind of ilex (*ilex pedunculosa*), which are planted near temples and in villages, also come in for a share of incense burning, though no one can positively say whether the tree is itself sacred, or merely the home of another spirit such as the Road God.

Another sacred spot, associated with sacrifices for re- 776
covery from illness, is the tomb of the Mongol soldiers of 778
Kublai Khan outside the West Gate, near one of the Nan 155
Chao pagodas. The tomb, the common grave of all who fell at the capture of Ta Li by Kublai, is a large mound surmounted by a more modern stone tablet which records its history. At this place persons who are sick, or who are acting on behalf of a sick relative, burn incense, and sacrifice a fowl, which is then cooked and eaten on the spot. Part of the rite is to break a pottery bowl on the stone base of the tablet erected by the Ming Emperor Hung Wu, which records his conquest of Yunnan from the Mongol Yüan dynasty a century later. This tablet stands close to the Mongol tomb, and is now surrounded by a large mound of broken potsherds, testimony to the antiquity of this rite. No one can give any reason for the association of these two monuments with the healing of sickness, nor do any precise ideas of the agency invoked exist. No god is connected with the two places, and there seems to be no reason why the spirits of Mongol soldiers and their Ming successors should be supposed to have healing powers.

Not very far from the Mongol Tomb and Ming Tablet there is another monument of Kublai Khan, the great stone tablet on a stone tortoise which records at length his conquest and pacification of Yunnan. This monument is well known and its character is familiar to every educated per-

776 son. It is in no way a religious monument, even though it
778 has three marble Buddhas carved on the reverse side of the
755 pediment. But to the peasants the stone tortoise has become some kind of spirit with the diverse powers of a god of wealth and a healer of eye diseases. The rites performed here are curious. At the New Year those who desire to increase their wealth in the coming year break small copper cash on the back of the tortoise and scatter the pieces around it, as usual burning incense sticks before the deity. Those who suffer from eye trouble take copper coins and twist them in the eye sockets of the tortoise, or rather in the holes where once the eyes existed, for the long performance of the rite has hollowed out the hard granite to a considerable depth.

782 A large number of these more informal rites not con-
753 nected with the worship of any recognised deity are in-
751 tended to alleviate sickness. The Min Chia, though not unaware of the theory of infection and contagion, as their beliefs about leprosy show, still think that religious rites are an effective preventive against epidemics. When there is sickness in the town, usually typhus or typhoid, it is customary to erect a shrine in the street, where musicians play and chant sutras before an altar spread with sweetmeats and flanked with incense burners, as in the New Year festival at a private house. The shrine is moved further up the street after two days and the rites repeated until the entire length has been purified. The householders subscribe to defray the expenses. The same rites are performed if a ghost has been seen in a street, for this is regarded as ill-omened for the inhabitants. Cactus leaves are pinned up on the door lintels during times of sickness, and it is believed that the spirits of disease will not enter a house so protected.

782 The Min Chia and the Yunnanese Chinese also will never
753 eat the eggs of hens kept by lepers, for it is believed that if

one does so one will contract the disease. This curious belief 782 is universal, and great precautions are taken when travelling 753 to make sure that eggs are from a safe source.

It is a fact that the yolk of hens' eggs is the medium in which what is believed to be the germ causing leprosy has recently been successfully cultivated in European laboratories. This discovery, which is as yet not fully confirmed, is of course quite unknown to the Min Chia, and if it proves correct will be a striking instance of popular superstition coinciding with scientific fact. The Min Chia also believe that leprosy is transmitted by flies which have alighted on a leper's sore, and later touch the skin of another person; a belief which may be due to hearsay knowledge of the germ theory. Goitre, which is very common in Yunnan due to the lack of iodine in the water, is believed, curiously enough, to be caused by mental anxiety and worry, perhaps because it mainly attacks the under-nourished poor, who may be expected to be more afflicted with worries than their wealthy neighbours. Snakebite, which is much feared, especially in the rice planting season when the workers must wade in the flooded fields, is believed to be mortal in all cases unless the wound can be quickly and tightly bound with a maiden's hair, a specific usually easily available, as the girls are at work in the field also. These cases where disease is believed to be due to contagion or infection are rare; for the most part illness is attributed to malign or angry ghosts, and the remedy is sacrifice at one of the shrines mentioned above, or the re-orientation of the ancestral tombs if it is believed that the angry ghost of an ancestor is responsible.

The Min Chia do not practise Black Magic and are unaware [789] of its existence. A description of rites such as the 787 making of wax figures and their subsequent destruction to compass the death of an enemy excites surprise, and the inquiry whether foreigners do that sort of thing. On the

787 other hand they have various rites of a magical character designed to exorcise spirits and drive out ghosts from a haunted room or house. The Sai Dser who exorcise the spirits of disease by dancing the Tiao Gur rite have already been described, but there are as well geomancers who can be consulted on the placing of graves, a function often fulfilled by the rare Taoist monks of the district or by wandering Taoists from Ssu Ch'uan. They charge a fee of from two to three dollars nickel for such advice. They are also consulted to fix lucky days for weddings and funerals, which they do by considering the horoscope of the persons concerned and the conjunctions of the stars on the appropriate day. Books of astrology, known all over China, serve as a guide for these predictions.

Fortune tellers, whose Min Chia name, "*Sua Mier Ni*," is clearly a corruption of the Chinese "*Suan ming ti*", and are, therefore, probably a product of contact with Chinese culture, are consulted for advice on sickness, and to interpret dreams. They are often blind men who earn a meagre living by this means, for the fees charged are as low as those earned by the geomancers. The interpretation of dreams is done by traditional rules, one of which is that to dream of evil is a good sign, and to dream of the death of some person is a sign of indigestion! It would seem that the interpretation follows the converse of the plain meaning of the dream. The belief that dreams are caused by ghosts or the spirits of other persons is not known among the Min Chia. Neither the geomancers nor the fortune tellers can be properly described as magicians, for apart from the Sai Dser, the Min Chia do not depend on specialised aid in exorcising ghosts. If a ghost is thought to have been seen in a room, or in some part of the house, incense is burned at the door of the room for a day or longer. The fact that a ghost has walked is taken as a sign that the spirit of the dead

person is not at peace about some matter, and if the 787
manifestations continued the geomancers would be called upon to re-orientate the grave.

In common with many other peoples the Min Chia 775
believe that dogs can see ghosts at all times, and the howling of a dog is taken as a sure indication that ghosts are about. It is also believed that cross-eyed people can see ghosts, though whether those afflicted in this way substantiate this opinion I cannot say, as I never had an opportunity to talk to a cross-eyed Min Chia. If a ghost is seen in a public place, such as a street, the residents subscribe to maintain a street shrine with chanting of sutras and music for a day or two, as it is considered unlucky and ill-omened. In 1938 the ghost of a certain old woman, who had been the gate keeper of the Protestant Mission and who had died suddenly, was seen in broad daylight not far from the Mission, or so at least it was alleged. The residents of that part of the main street of Ta Li where the ghost was seen then set up a street shrine, to the considerable inconvenience of wayfarers and muleteers passing through the town.

The Min Chia also believe in possession by evil spirits, or more strictly, by malign ghosts. There is a standard rite for exorcising such ghosts, and though I was never able to witness this, it was described to me by a Min Chia who had seen it performed. A miniature suit of clothes, coat and trousers, is made from coloured paper, and brought into the room where the possessed person is confined. The doors are then shut, and fresh peaches thrown about the room in all directions, whereupon the paper suit is thrown out of the window, and promptly burned by persons waiting outside for this purpose. The rite is performed by a member of the family, no outside person, priest or Sai Dser being called in. It was explained that the act of throwing peaches about drove the ghost to take refuge in the paper suit, and thus

775 enabled it to be cast out bodily and rendered harmless. The peach in China and the Far East generally is a fairy fruit, and charms are made of peach wood or peach stones. It is also an ancient belief in China that peach wood is a defence against evil spirits. The modern "gate gods" are simply pictures pasted on the gate to keep out demons, but they were originally painted on peach wood boards hung upon the gate.

The Min Chia also believe in poltergeists, a belief shared by their Yunnanese neighbours of all tribes. During the time I was in Ta Li I was not able to hear of a local poltergeist, although I was told that some years before one had been active in a certain village not far from the city. But in 1937 the city of Li Chiang, just beyond the Min Chia country to the north, was the scene of poltergeist manifestations which attained a considerable local celebrity. The home of a rich family of merchants of that city was almost entirely ruined by these long continued destructive attacks. The family, forced to abandon the house in which mysterious fires would break out in unlikely places, or stones coming flying through the air, left a few faithful members to guard against robbers and attempt to detect the "ghost" in the act, if it should
[783] prove to be after all a human enemy. The priests of all local religions, Lama Buddhists, Taoists and others, were invited in to exorcise the ghost, and altars with their incense and offerings were placed in every room. The manifestations continued for more than eight months, and when I visited the house late in 1937 it was virtually ruinous. Much of the woodwork was burned or charred, even under the eaves and high up on the walls, where the fire can only have been applied by a torch. The doors and window lattices were smashed and scarred by stones, and these lay in heaps in the courtyard. It was said that one fire had broken out the previous night, and we were shown the spot, under the roof ridge, which was indeed charred and still smoking slightly.

No stones were thrown during my visit to the house, but other European visitors have told me that stones were thrown when they were there. When a Chinese colonel, second-in-command of the Li Chiang garrison, visited the house, and with drawn pistol boastfully defied the ghost, he was struck on the back of the head by a stone and rendered unconscious. I was told that he was surrounded by his bodyguards at the time that this occurred.

Not long after I visited the house the haunting ceased. It appears that the family who owned it are responsible for the upkeep of a chain suspension bridge across one of the rivers on the caravan route to Mu Li and Ta Chien Lu in Chinese administered Tibet (Si Kang province). The bridge had fallen into a dangerous condition of disrepair, and mules had been lost in trying to cross it. Yet the family made no attempt to undertake repairs. Early in 1938, at whose suggestion I could not discover, they repaired the bridge, and thereupon the haunting stopped at once.

Min Chia and Chinese were much divided in their opinions about this outcome of the Li Chiang hauntings. Some laughingly suggested that it had all been a clever plan on the part of those who wanted the bridge repaired. Others argued that such a secret could never be kept in the middle of a city, and that the effects produced in a house guarded day and night were far beyond the reach of human skill. Anyone as clever as that they said, could have made a fortune as a thief, and would not need to engage in practical jokes of a dangerous kind for no reward. It was however, agreed that no one hitherto had heard of a poltergeist who worked in such a disinterested way for the public good. The third possibility, that the effects were produced by one of those members of the family who were left on guard, was generally discounted by all for the characteristically Chinese reason that no member of a family would be

773 party to actions bringing ruin and loss to his kinsmen. No Min Chia or Chinese attributed the manifestations to the magical operations of an enemy, or to the effects of a curse. Opinion was divided between those who credited a human being with remarkable skill, daring and dexterity, and those who believed in the independent action of a malign spirit. The Min Chia are not, of course, acquainted with psychological theories of dissociation of the personality, and so the possibility that one of the members of the guard could have done these things in such a condition did not enter their calculations.

774 Curiously enough the Min Chia do not share the common Chinese belief in were-foxes, a belief which has deeply coloured Chinese and Japanese legend and fiction. Shapeshifting stories are common in Chinese literature, but do not seem to be known to those Min Chia who could not read Chinese fiction. On the other hand a case of shapeshifting was actually reported on March 18th, 1937. The case created much interest among the Min Chia and all those to whom I spoke declared they had never heard of such a thing before. March 18th was a bright windy day such as are common at that season. Boatmen from the eastern shore who came into the city in the afternoon had a strange tale to tell.

They said that when the boats from Wa Shih, a large village on the eastern shore, were about to start in the morning for the Ta Li side of the lake, a tall handsome man took passage on one boat which had a crew of three men. Half way across the lake the boatmen were horrified to see their passenger turn bright red and transform himself before their eyes into a tiger, which thereupon struck down two of the crew, while the third, diving overboard, escaped by swimming to another boat. When asked what had become of the abandoned boat and the tiger, no one professed to know. In

Chinese folklore the shape shifter is always a fox, not a tiger, and it is a fox who can assume human shape, not a human who assumes the shape of a fox. This Min Chia story, however, was positive that the shapeshifter became a tiger, and everyone denied ever hearing of a case of shapeshifting before. 774

Other stories connected with the lake might perhaps be explained if it could be proved that in certain lights mirage effects were possible, but I never observed any such effects nor heard of others who had done so. It is said that "several" years ago a phantom ship was observed from the western shore, apparently leaving Wa Shih, across the lake, about four miles distant. This ship was much larger than any seen on the lake, and—a modern touch—had a deck house with glass windows. No such ship exists on the Erh Hai lake. Halfway across it suddenly vanished. Another phantom apparition on the lake was seen eight years ago (1931). A large and well-attended market was seen from the western shore, apparently taking place on the still waters of the lake, far out from the shore. Hundreds of people going and coming could be seen, with horses and mules. After being clearly visible for some minutes it suddenly vanished. This did not happen on a day when market was being held in Ta Li. As there are several market villages scattered round the shore of the lake the possibility of a vivid mirage cannot be ruled out. The Min Chia know nothing of mirages and considered these phantoms to be supernatural manifestations of unknown import. 774 822

Other happenings confirm the fact that the myth making faculty still functions actively among the Min Chia peasantry. A short while after the war with Japan had begun a miracle was reported from a temple near Hsia Kuan, at the lower end of the lake. This temple, on the mountain slope above Hsia Kuan, is dedicated to the Chinese general Li Ming who with 774

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Stone horse, mutilated for superstitious reasons.

Erh Yuan Min Chia girl.

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[Face p. 144]

774 all his army was totally defeated and slain near Hsia Kuan by the Nan Chao King, Ko Lo Feng in the T'ang period. A statue or image of the general stands on the altar in the main hall, the temple having been erected to placate the ghost of this powerful personage who had died a violent death. In the month of February, 1938, following the news that Nanking had fallen, news which did not become generally known till then, the statue of General Li Ming was observed to be bleeding in the right arm. This event aroused great interest, thousands flocked to the temple, where however the statue had ceased to bleed; but the monks of the Kuan Yin temple near Ta Li held a special festival, which was largely attended, to implore Kuan Yin to avert the disaster predicted by such an ill-omened event.

This is not the only instance of the popular belief that graven images may be on occasion animated either by the spirit of the deceased person in whose honour they were made, or by malign ghosts. Not far beyond the north gate of Ta Li city there is a small village called Lu Da, lying on the last rocky slopes of the mountain side, and a mile or so from this village there is the elaborate tomb of a Ming official, approached by a ceremonial avenue of stone figures. These figures are arranged in pairs in the conventional Chinese manner, two horses, two griffins, two lions and finally, nearest to the tomb, two human figures. But the legs of all the animal figures have been cut off, and the heads of the human figures are also missing. The people of Lu Da say that they were advised to mutilate the statues in this way because ghosts were animating them at night. The animals would come down and eat up the growing crops, while the human figures left their pedestals and roamed over the countryside terrifying all they met. Since their heads had been cut off, and the animals deprived of their legs, these hauntings had ceased. A similar belief may well

774 account for the destruction of statuary not only in this
region but in other places also.

825 Lu Da was also the scene of an alleged encounter with
774 wolves, during the spring of 1937. A farmer working on
the mountain side found a young wolf cub, and putting it in
his sack brought it home as a pet. That night he was
awakened by a pounding on the street gate, and when he
rose to see who it was, found two wolves, a male and a
female, leaping up at the gate. He realised that they had
come to seek their cub, and fearing that they would jump
the wall, he climbed to the top of the gate and spoke to
them, saying, "Wolves, I know why you have come here,
and I confess that I did wrong to steal your child. Now, if
you will go off a little way so that I may safely open the gate,
I will let your cub go, and you may depart in peace." When
the wolves heard this, they drew off some way down the
street, but remained in sight, watching. The farmer then
let out the wolf cub through a crack of the gate, and the
reunited wolf family at once made off to the mountain. This
story was generally believed as true in all particulars, and
created a great deal of interest in the neighbourhood.

Perhaps because they are not a hunting people animals
play rather a small part in Min Chia superstition. It has
already been remarked that they do not share the Chinese
belief in were-foxes, although they agree with the Chinese
in considering it to be unlucky to kill wild geese. Swallows,
as with most peoples, are also protected by a similar belief.
[147] The Min Chia say that anyone who kills a swallow will go
bald. This is curious, as the Min Chia hardly ever suffer from
this disfigurement, and in fact have no word for baldness in
777 the language. They have like other peoples a number of
superstitions not connected with any definite system of
beliefs. For example it is considered unlucky to point at a
rainbow. If one wishes to draw the attention of others to a

777 rainbow you must not indicate where it is with a gesture, but merely say "there is a fine rainbow in the east", or the in the south, as the case may be.

771 In spite, or perhaps, because of, the complexity of their religious system and the number of overlapping deities whom they worship, the Min Chia cannot be called a really religious people. In their culture religion plays a secondary part. Lacking any unified and defined system of beliefs their religion has never been the dominating and co-ordinating force which Islam has been to the Moslems, or as Christianity was to the Christian nations of the west. Very rarely, except in a ceremony, will one hear the names of the gods on the lips of a Min Chia. Religion has never given common expletives to the language, and is seldom a subject for conversation. It is characteristic of their attitude that difference in religion is not felt to be so significant as difference in descent. To the Min Chia a Moslem is not primarily a fellow-countryman with a peculiar religion, he is a member of another race. A man asked to distinguish between two muleteers, one of which was a Moslem and the other a Yunnanese, said, "this one is the Chinese, that is the Hui Tze". "*Han jen,*" the word used for Chinese, means Chinese by race and speech, "*Hui Tze*" a Yunnanese slang term for a Moslem, is derived from the name Hui Hui, an old Chinese name for the Uigur tribe of Tartars, who were among the first Moslems to be known to the Chinese. Yet these Moslems, although of alien origin, have been settled in Yunnan for six centuries and are entirely Chinese in appearance, dress, and speech.

771
797 The same attitude exists towards the Christians. Even well educated Min Chia and Yunnanese are unable to understand or believe that the Christian missionaries have come to the country merely to convert people to a new religion. Such an aim seems to them meaningless. The idea

of an exclusive creed, the one true way distinct from all others which are false, is so unfamiliar to their mental habits as to be barely comprehensible. They are therefore convinced, against all denial, that the Protestant missionaries are the paid agents of the British Government, and that the Catholic missionaries play the same rôle on behalf of the French Government. These two powers are the only European nations familiar by name to most of the Yunnanese peasants, since their possessions in Burma and Indo-China march with the Yunnan frontier. The feeling that converts to the Christian faiths are in some way the servants of foreign powers and perhaps not really loyal to their own country accounts for a good part of the ill-will with which they are often regarded. 771 797

Both missions find the Min Chia refractory material. Nearly seventy years have elapsed since the Catholic and Protestant missions were established in Ta Li, but their respective converts cannot yet be counted in three figures. This may in part be due to the fact that both missions have hitherto concentrated on the city folk who can be reached by missionaries familiar with Chinese, and only in recent years endeavoured to find Min Chia speaking converts who can preach to the villagers in their native tongue.

CHAPTER 8

THE FAMILY AND THE HOME

596 IN the Min Chia language the word "*hao*" means both a "family" and a "house"; every house is the home of some family, and a family dispersed without a home is something unheard of and unknown. This well expresses the central importance of the home in the social organisation. The Min Chia have few institutions which transcend the family or gather individuals into an organisation not founded on a kin group. The village it is true has its headmen, and as has been pointed out the worship of the Ber Dser, the Founder, is not confined to his descendents in the male line or to those of the same surname. But the village is after all only a group of families most of which, if not indeed all, are interrelated on the female side. There are no age classes, no societies in which boys or young men can find a centre of social organisation distinct from that of the family. For most Min Chia therefore the family is the social unit in which he passes his whole life. If he is a peasant farmer, he cultivates fields held jointly with his brothers, if he turns to business he becomes a partner or assistant in a family shop or small business in which none but kinsmen are employed, except for the most menial duties.

573 One exception exists, for the better off classes at least, in the schools. The peasant boy who only attends the village school for a few years meets there none but his fellow villagers, many of whom are related to him in some degree, and all already well known. But the son of a more wealthy family who is sent to the Middle School in the city makes contacts beyond the narrow circle of relatives and villagers. He meets boys from other villagers, or from other families

living in the city who are in no way related to his own kin. 573 Among the Min Chia, as with the Chinese, the friendships thus made are long lasting and profound. This solidarity between old schoolmates is the only social force which can compare with the bonds of kinship, and the influence of the educational system is thus much more far reaching than might be supposed if only scholastic standards were taken into account.

England is supposed to be the country where the influence of the "old school tie" is most pervasive and persistent beneath the forms of political democracy, but though the emblem is unknown in China the solidarity is even more conspicuous, for it is founded on a longer tradition. Far back in Chinese history, in the Feudal Age of Confucius, centuries before the Christian Era, this cohesion of the pupils and disciples of a renowned teacher began to play a part opposed to, or at least independent of, the feudal hierarchy. In later periods the educated class which was also the governing class, was always divided between cliques composed of the followers of some philosopher or man of letters, and very often the basis of these divisions was the fact that these followers had once been pupils also. At the present time the alumni of one University, or the returned students from one foreign country, are found as organised groups competing for political power and scholastic preferment with similar rival affiliations.

The influence exercised by such associations of old schoolmates adds to the respect with which education is universally regarded, and in turn is increased by the fact of this respect. In China to-day two organisations distinct from the family wield great power: the army and the university, and the greater of these is the university. A general receives the respect due to one who can employ force, the professor, the modern successor of the scholar of

573 old China, is treated with a greater deference, based not on
fear, but on that admiration for learning which is so deeply
rooted in Chinese cultural tradition.

There can be no doubt that this attitude has been taken
over by the Min Chia from their Chinese neighbours and
rulers. It is perhaps reinforced among them by the fact that
learning, which means Chinese learning, involves the study
of a foreign language and thus sharpens the distinction between
the literate and the unlettered. Min Chia who have
passed through the Middle School have in the process
become a distinct group, to whom Chinese is as familiar
as their own language, sharing interests and experiences
which their less educated relatives do not understand and
cannot appreciate. The school has become for them a new
kind of greater family, for just as Chinese tradition accords
to the teacher the respect due to a father, not merely in
school, but in society generally, so schoolmates feel
towards each other the intimacy, if not always the affection,
otherwise reserved for kinsmen. Friendship between young
men largely compensates for the absence of free social intercourse
between the sexes, and such friendships are almost
always based either on kinship or on fellowship at school.

576 It is still customary in Min Chia families for the married
sons to remain in the paternal home, at least during the
lifetime of the parents, and consequently a Min Chia home
is usually fully occupied with numerous children, unmarried
daughters, daughters-in-law, grandchildren and
[581] other relatives. In a culture where Ancestor Worship plays
a major rôle it is natural that the bearing of children, especially
sons, should be considered the first duty of women,
584 and the principal object of marriage. No Min Chia marriage
596 is arranged by the free choice of the bride and groom,
except in the irregular elopements discussed earlier, and
consequently affection and companionship, though these

may happily come after marriage, are not pre-determining 584
reasons for a marriage. The wealthier families, moving with 596
the times, are beginning to realise that education for girls
is not a mere waste of money, or a whim of some old
scholar to be indulged in favour of a favourite granddaughter,
as was once the case. To-day a young man of good 581
family expects that his wife shall be able to read and write 562
and have some general education. Nevertheless the duty of a
wife is still to bear children, keep the home, and perhaps
help to run the shop. She may have her women friends,
usually drawn from relatives and in-laws, but there is little
social life shared by husband and wife. He goes out to see
his friends alone, or entertains them in his own home
without his wife being present, although among the more
advanced families he may present her to the guests before
the meal.

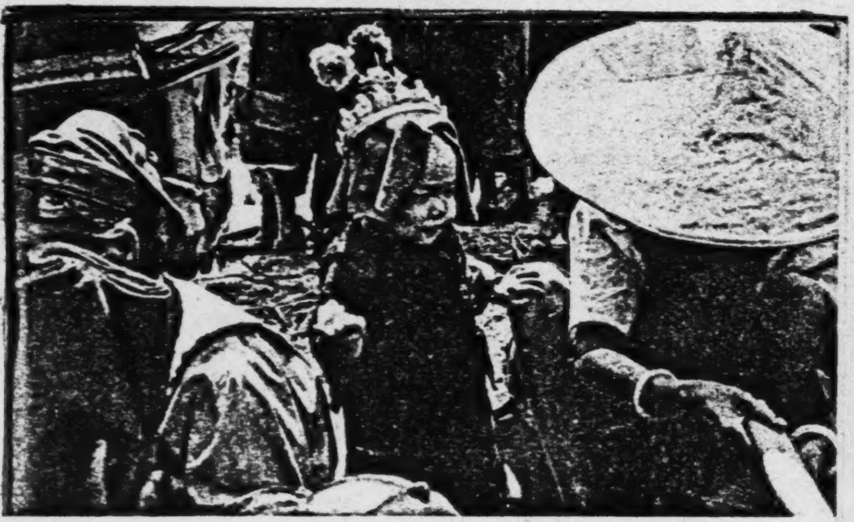
A newly married bride has little independence in her 593
husband's home, for it is controlled by her mother-in-law,
or if she be already dead, by a sister-in-law senior to herself,
or some other female relative of her husband's family.
Her happiness will depend on the character of these women,
for her husband has little to say in the home, and if she is
disliked by his mother, he can do nothing to alleviate her
lot. The best and most certain way of obtaining consideration
is to give birth to a son, and if the child lives her position
in the home is assured. Unfortunately the infant mortality [165]
in a country where medical knowledge is slight and
the services of a skilled doctor unobtainable, is naturally
very high. So much is this the case that no Min Chia will 553
celebrate the birth of a child until it has lived at least a
month, and it is not given a name until it has survived a year.
Then indeed the family begin to feel that they have really
got a new member, and the important question of the name
is decided.

553 787 As a consequence of Min Chia and Chinese ideas about Ancestor Worship, the name of a deceased forbear or other relative is never employed a second time. A name is something absolutely personal to the individual, and in former times at least, it was believed that the character of the name influenced the character of the child. The moment of birth is still carefully recorded for the purpose of drawing the horoscope, which in turn decides such questions as the suitability of the character of the name, and the eligibility of the boy's bride in future years. For if the horoscopes of two children are not in agreement no marriage between them would be regarded as possible. While the avoidance of the name of an ancestor or relative is probably based on ancient beliefs about the influence of the name on the individual, it is now attributed to the necessity of avoiding confusion in the pedigree and in the ceremonies of Ancestor Worship such as the Shu Pao where the names of the dead are read out. European practice sufficiently proves that this is not a really valid objection.

553 The name is usually chosen by the grandparents, sometimes after consulting an astrologer, and consists either of one word or two in combination. If one word is employed all the children of that generation will be given names which are written with characters having a similar component, so that in future it will be possible to recognise at a glance the generation of these relatives. Names of two characters are more usual, though some families employ the device of alternating one character and two character names in succeeding generations, so that the father has a single character name, the son two, and the grandson one again. When two characters are used the first word is a constant, repeated in the name of every child of that generation, the second is different and serves as the distinguishing sign. Any two words which can be written with Chinese characters

are used, sometimes irrespective of their sense, being two words from a classical book chosen at haphazard, or sometimes having an allusion to some family circumstance. Thus a boy born when his grandfather was seventy years old was named "Chi Te", meaning "seven (score) obtained" (a grandson). In this case any other children of the same generation would have to be called "Ch'i" as the first part of their names, even though the two characters might make no sense.

Little distinction is observed between the names of men and women, since the constant search for new names has usually eliminated all the more obvious and appropriate characters. If possible girls are given names relating to flowers, while boys' names signify, virtue, learning, loyalty, or objects traditionally typifying these characteristics, such as pine trees for endurance. When boys first go to school, at seven years or so, they are given in addition a "book name", usually two words from a Chinese classic, if possible with a learned significance. In the family children are often called by nicknames such as "*hsiao san*". "little third" meaning that it is the third child, or, a common nickname, "*chiao hua*" "able to talk". It is curious that these names, though Chinese, are in common use among the Min Chia, who rarely if ever employ Min Chia words which cannot be written as names. This is invariably the case with the educated class, the peasants sometimes merely giving their children a simple numerical name which records their place in the family. The Min Chia have a number of surnames which are pronounced in a way quite unlike the Chinese sound of the character used when writing them, and it is probable that this is due to the desire to find some means of writing names which must be recorded. The same necessity has led to the use of first names which are of Chinese origin, though pronounced by the Min Chia in their own way.



Baby boy wearing girl's head-dress as protection against evil spirits.

Min Chia girl wearing silver-studded head-dress.

[Face p. 154]

854 853 During the early years of life children are left to the care of the women of the household and, in poorer families, are carried about on their mothers' backs to the fields or the market place, until they are old enough to walk by themselves. As is also the case in other parts of China, where the use of cow's milk is unknown, weaning does not take place till a child is three years old or more, and the change to a rice diet often brings digestive troubles and ill-health. The Min Chia, who do use cow's milk, do not seem to know how to make use of it for feeding young children. As soon as the child is weaned it is given the same food as adults—rice, vegetables and fish or meat in small quantities—while the milk which would be more suitable in plain dishes is made into cheese. Infant mortality, already very high on account of the unchecked epidemics of measles, scarlet fever and typhoid, is largely increased by digestive disorders due to the change to unsuitable diet.

858 Once a child, especially a boy, has got over this difficult period it has a happy life, for the Min Chia are extremely affectionate to children, who, within reason, are allowed to do much as they like. As might be expected under these circumstances the children end by doing something which is very annoying or mischievous, and their enraged parents then chastise them On such occasions the outcry made by boy or girl might suggest that they were being beaten to death, but this is largely a conventional manifestation of grief rather than of pain, for it would be considered most unfilial and almost indecent for a child to bear punishment with fortitude; this would seem to the Min Chia not a proof of pluck, but a display of obstinacy and sulkiness. Consequently the child howls its loudest and the parent, satisfied by this evidence of contrition, is rarely very severe.

880 Min Chia children have quite a large variety of toys, all

Min Chia

857 children have quite a large variety of toys, all
524 made locally, for the cheap Japanese toy, or its Shanghai-made competitor, have not yet reached the rural parts of Yunnan. Hobby horses, spinning tops, wooden swords and spears, marbles, dolls, and small wooden toy water mills, are the most elaborate and enduring, for many toys are made of paper for some special occasion, such as the Kwan Yin festival and the New Year. Kites are not regarded strictly as toys, for they are also flown by men as well as by boys. The kite flying season is conventionally limited to the spring, and any one who tried to fly a kite at other seasons would be considered eccentric. This curious idea prevails all over China, but I have never been able to hear a satisfactory explanation. The kite is a Chinese invention, and of great antiquity, often made in the shape of a dragon. It seems possible that it was originally a representation of the Rain Dragon, flown in spring in connection with some rain making rite, and that some faint memory of this inspires the convention which limits kite flying to that season. The fire balloons called K'un Ming lamps, mentioned earlier, which are now regarded as toys, are also only flown at one season for a limited period, and some connection with the Shu Pao ceremony is admitted.

Children also play a number of round games such as hide and seek, touch-last, hop scotch, and one, of Chinese origin, called "breaking the city wall", in which a line of boys hold hands and one other has to charge them and
304 break through, but without using his hands or fists. Except for the last, which is a boys' game, all the others are played by girls and boys together, in the courtyard of their home, for as the Min Chia have never bound the feet of their girls, and the custom is now rapidly disappearing among the Chinese and half Chinese, little girls are quite as active as their brothers. In recent years the introduction of basketball as a school game has led to this becoming the national

857 ball game of China. It has several advantages for the
524 Chinese, for it can be played on a small piece of ground, which is often all that is available, and it does not require the special boots needed for football, which few Chinese schoolboys could afford. In most parts of China the ground is hard and dry for a large part of the year, and any game such as Rugby Football, or Association, in which the players are likely to fall, or be barged down, is dangerous unless played on a specially softened and prepared ground, and that of course is rarely available. Basket ball, introduced by the schools and also played by soldiers in barracks, is thus the only foreign game known to the Min Chia.

857 When a boy or girl is seven years old schooling begins.
872 Before that, in well-to-do families, the child will have already been taught the elements of writing and have begun to learn to read. During the school years most children live at home, only those who attend the Middle Schools and come from distant villages, boarding at the school. Although elementary education is widespread, only a small proportion of boys, and still fewer girls go on to the
883 Middle School. At thirteen or fourteen school ends for
874 most boys, and they either begin to do full time work on the land, or are apprenticed to a tradesman. The apprentice system is only followed in the city, for in the villages there is no trade but agriculture or lake fishing. The apprentice may be engaged at any age over fourteen years, and is bound to serve his master for four years. In return he must be taught the craft, fed, lodged in the shop, and given a new suit of coat and trousers every New Year's day. He receives no pay during these years, but he shares in the family festivities, and on the occasion of the festival of the God of Wealth, locally known as the Golden Armoured God (Chin Chia Ts'ai Shen), when the merchants picnic near the God's temple outside the west gate, the appren-

tices are given a real feast with as much pork, chicken, 883
delicacies and wine as they can stuff away. 874

The peasant boy begins to work as a herd before he is strong enough to do field work. Oxen, water buffalo, and 883
sheep are usually left in charge of small boys of eight or nine 462
years, who spend the day with their charges on the slopes of the mountain, or by the shore of the lake among the willow groves, playing the flute, or astride the broad back of the good-tempered water buffalo, wallowing in the shallows of the lake. The animals are allowed to graze on the narrow dykes between the rice fields, but under the watchful eyes of their young herdsmen the well-trained beasts never dare to wander into the tempting unfenced crops on either side. The complete control which a small boy exercises over a huge water buffalo in these circumstances, though it does not seem strange to the Min Chia, astonishes visitors who know the ways of domestic animals in other lands. The lazy, sunny days on the back of a water buffalo must seem in retrospect a golden age to the young Min Chia when he has grown old enough to do the hard unceasing work on the land, wading through thick mud when ploughing, or hoeing the roots out of the heavy black soil of the drained fields.

The peasant girl begins to work at the same age, or earlier than her brother. Apart from helping the older women at the domestic tasks, the young girls carry loads of produce to the market, and at an early age, thirteen or fourteen, they are left in charge to sell this and bring the proceeds home at night. This free and independent life spent all day in the busy scenes of a town street, or a village market place away from the supervision of parents gives the Min Chia girl a self confidence and assurance rarely found in the women of eastern countries, and is at once a proof of, and a tribute to, the good sense of the Min Chia mothers and the good

883 462 manners of the men. A girl is perhaps not as unprotected and alone as she seems, for if any young man attempted to insult her or misbehave, the other women present and the older men would at once put a stop to it. The Min Chia, although a lively, talkative and gay people, have an admirable code of public behaviour and an innate sense of decorum.

Girls and women do other heavy work, made possible by the fact that they never had the Chinese custom of foot [482] binding. A large part of the porterage of goods from the lake shore to the city and from Hsia Kuan is done by women and girls, who also do most of the grass cutting on the higher slopes of the mountain. They assist in the handling [533 461] of boats, and in planting rice fields. This work is usually done by a group of girls working together, who beguile the time by singing improvised songs, always using the same traditional tune. The same kind of song, to the same tune with its prolonged falling final note, is sung by boatmen and by grass cutters on the mountain, and, while the tune is always the same the words are made up for the occasion.

582 When a girl is seventeen years old, or a boy nineteen to twenty, the Min Chia consider it time for them to marry. In practice they will already have been betrothed since childhood and the only thing to be decided is the day which, in accordance with the horoscope of the engaged 583 pair, is most suitable and auspicious for the marriage. The betrothal, which is sometimes concluded when the children are quite small, is arranged by a marriage-broker, usually an elderly woman or man acquainted with both families, for the future bride and groom must never meet before the marriage, and it is not considered good taste for the two families to negotiate directly. The marriage-broker receives no fee for his trouble, but he acts as president of the marriage feast, and is usually the kind of person who

finds sufficient reward in being allowed, or invited, to arrange the lives of others.

One of his most important duties is to get the two families to agree on the value of the presents which the father of the bridegroom must make to the father of the bride. The bridegroom must not only buy silver jewellery for the bride, but also make a cash payment which is never less than fifty silver dollars, and may exceed one hundred. This payment is in many ways similar to the "bride price" payment in vogue in other countries, for it is regarded as a compensation to the bride's father for the loss of his daughter, and for the money he has spent in educating her. This factor indeed largely determines the value of the sum paid. A girl who has had no schooling cannot expect to receive a large sum, while one who has passed through the elementary school, and still more the Middle School, commands, as it were, a high figure. Although a girl once married is looked upon as a member of her husband's family, it would not be correct to say that the Min Chia sell their daughters like slaves. A woman has rights as well as duties, and it would be no truer to say that the Min Chia sold their daughters than to say that a European father gives a dowry to induce some man to take his daughter off his hands.

The custom of receiving a cash payment when a girl is married acts as a salutary check to the over-importance attached to male children, due to the influence of Ancestor Worship. Even if a father were devoid of natural affection, and only valued his sons as continuers of the Ancestral Worship, he would still have to value his daughters as worth so much to him on marriage. But in practice, the Min Chia, who are very fond of children, are loth to part with their daughters, and they look upon the marriage payment as a compensation for this necessary separation rather than as a

583 commercial transaction. For the same reason they are never very willing to arrange a marriage with a family living in some distant place, and since they do not follow the Chinese rule of exogamy, they are not often forced to look for a daughter-in-law or son-in-law outside the circle of their acquaintances or relations. It must also be remembered that in a country where large families are common, the father has to pay out as much for the marriage of his sons as he is likely to receive for the marriage of his daughters.

585 When the arrangements have been made to the satisfaction of both parties, and the payments made, a lucky day is chosen from the calendar, in which the days appropriate to weddings are marked. This means that quite often there will be several weddings in the same village or neighbourhood on the same day, and this occasionally leads to ludicrous, but rather tragic, complications. If poor, the bride has to go to her husband's home on foot, and alone, followed at a short distance by some relatives, usually not the parents. But in practice only the poorest of the poor are unable to afford a sedan chair for this rare occasion. The almost universal custom is for the bride to be sent to her future home alone in a sedan chair gaily decorated with red paper rosettes and streamers. The chair is closed, for it would not do for the chair bearers to see the face of another man's bride, and it is not accompanied by any of her relatives. This, at least, used to be the case, but since mistakes sometimes happened, it is now quite common for one or two of her male relatives to ride along with the bridal chair till it reaches the husband's home.

This precaution is taken, not to guard the girl against some intrusion or rudeness, but to prevent the occurrence of the ludicrous mistakes referred to above. It used to happen that when several weddings took place on the same day, and the brides were carried unaccompanied to their future homes, the chair bearers would halt for refreshment at some wayside teahouse between the two villages. Another bridal chair, similarly decorated and closed would arrive, and the bearers would also stop for tea. So, it sometimes happened that when they got up to go, the bearers, unable to distinguish between one chair and the other, took up the wrong ones, and the unconscious brides were carried to the wrong husbands. Even on arrival the mistake would not at once be known, for neither bride, nor groom, nor parents-in-law had ever seen each other, and the descriptions given by the marriage brokers are notoriously inaccurate. So the marriage would be consummated and the mistake pass undiscovered until the customary visit to the bride's parents three days after the marriage. Then indeed, the amazed parents would find not their daughter, but some other girl, and difficult and disturbing complications would ensue.

It might well be found that whereas one family had paid a large marriage payment, the other had only made a small one, or that two of the families thus inadvertently allied were at odds with each other. Sometimes these reasons were so strong that the two marriages had to be cancelled and the brides exchanged, but as it is customary to consummate the marriage on the first night, this solution presented infinite difficulties.

The risk of these fantastic and embarrassing complications has induced many families to send relatives with the bridal chair till it reaches the right destination.

On arrival the bride is helped out of her chair and led at once to the guest room on the ground floor, where her hsuband and his parents await her. The pair then immediately *k'e t'ou* to "Heaven and Earth"—those vague celestial powers which are the only "gods" of Ancestor Worship. This reverence is performed facing outwards towards the courtyard, and that done they turn about and repeat the prostration before the altar of the ancestors, on which the tablets are displayed. By this act the bride becomes a member of the family, and she is then introduced in turn to all her new relations. Bride and groom then sit down, at a table apart, to a light ceremonial meal of a bowl of *mien* (a kind of sphaghetti) and the act of eating this from the same bowl is the clinching rite of the marriage ceremony, corresponding to the Chinese rite of drinking wine from the same cup. The Min Chia do not use wine at all in the marriage ceremony[1]. When the *mien* is eaten all the family join the now married couple at the table and a feast is served. Thereafter the bride and groom are at once escorted to their bedroom, for it would be considered both unlucky and ill-mannered if the marriage were not consummated at once.

While the marriage ceremonies are taking place inside the house, the friends and relatives of the bridegroom's family are being entertained to a feast in the outer courtyard, or if that is too small, often in a mat shed erected in the street adjoining the house door. This festivity is maintained by richer families for three days, beginning one day before the marriage and continuing to the close of the day following the reception of the bride. It is over this feast that the marriage-broker presides as a reward for his often long and wearisome negotiations. Three days later the bride's family give a return feast, which is attended by the newly married pair, and it was then that in case of a mistake, the dismayed parents found that the wife of the young husband was not their daughter at all.

[1] The use of *mien* for such a solemn occasion as marriage suggests that this food must have been known to the Min Chia for many centuries, for it is hardly probable that some new food would be used in such a traditional ceremony as marriage. *Mien* is made from wheat flour, not rice, and closely resembles Italian Spaghetti, although it is not possible that the Min Chia, who have had so little contact with Europeans (and least with Italians) should have acquired the use of it from this source.

It would seem inevitable that not all such marriages can 581 be a success. Husband and wife are complete strangers up to the moment of marriage, and the early, indeed immediate, consummation of the sexual union precludes any possibility of the growth of mutual attraction and of the courtship which western psychology considers an indispensable preliminary to sexual intercourse. It may be, indeed it often happens, that Chinese or Min Chia marriages become a real union of affection as time passes, but this can only be after the marriage has been consummated and depends on chance rather than choice. It is not surprising therefore to find that both young men and girls really dread their marriage as a plunge into the unknown, and that among the younger, more educated generation, there is an increasing opposition to the old custom, inspired by the spreading knowledge that the modern generation of university educated young people in the great cities have largely broken away from these restraints.

In the case, not by any means rare, where a mutual anti- 586 pathy rather than attraction follows marriage, there is little remedy for either party in the traditional system. A wife can in theory leave a cruel or depraved husband and return to her father's home. Such action would cause the greatest possible scandal, and lead to bitter hostility between the two families, and it only natural to find that few fathers have sufficient appreciation of their daughter's unhappiness as to encourage them to abandon their husbands, especially as there is then little prospect of them being married a second time. A husband may divorce his wife for adultery, by simply sending her home, but this also rarely happens, as it is not often easy to prove the fact to the satisfaction of the wife's father, and it is held to reflect scandal on the family of a husband where such things happen, and are admitted to happen. If the husband finds his wife incompatible, but

586 virtuous, he may divorce her, but in that case he must pay 200 to 300 silver dollars to her father, and very few families can afford such an expensive method of divorce. In such a case the husband would find it less expensive and easier to take a concubine in addition to his wife, who would remain the recognised, but neglected mistress of her husband's home.

595 Concubinage is still perfectly legal, though no longer approved by the younger generation of Chinese of the educated class. Among the Min Chia it has always been the luxury of the rich rather than a general custom. Only a few wealthy men can afford more than one wife, and it is almost unknown for any man to have two concubines. The most common reason for taking a concubine is the failure of the first wife to bear children, or the death of such children as she had borne when there is no longer any hope of her having any others. In such a case it is considered a natural thing for the husband to take a concubine, and indeed the older Min Chia would consider it his duty to do so. Concubines are usually the daughters of poorer families, who having more daughters than they can easily marry to families of their own status, are ready to send one daughter to a richer home in this capacity. There are cases where the concubine is of the same social standing as the first wife, but this is not so common, and is often due to a compromise solution when the husband has eloped with one girl and had to consent to marry the other, to whom he was already betrothed.

Although the concubine is thus usually of lower social status than the first wife, and her position in the home is inferior, her children count as equally legitimate with those of the first wife, and no discrimination is made between them. In peasant households concubinage is unknown, for economic reasons, and if the wife proves barren, it is customary to adopt a nephew or a young cousin of a lower 595 generation as heir. Widowers usually re-marry, and a widower is not considered to be an unsuitable bridegroom 587 for a girl, but custom is opposed to the re-marriage of widows, who if they do so, can bring nothing but their own clothes to their new home, and must leave behind everything that they received from their dead husband. In spite of this, widows quite often do marry again, but only if they have no children of their own.

In spite of the real limitations and disabilities which 562 women suffer under this system,[1] they are far from being 593 downtrodden and secluded. When a woman has given birth to children her position in the home is secured, and as she grows older her authority increases. When she becomes the head of the household, after her mother-in-law's death, she is the absolute mistress of the home. Men have very little control over the running of the house. They are not consulted even when it is a question of letting a part of the house to strangers, and the rent is paid to the mother, not the father or the eldest son. They may invite guests to dinner parties, and they can conduct the outside business of the family, though rarely without consulting their wives or mothers. It is often assumed that the hardship of these arranged marriages rests only on the bride, but for the husband, who finds himself married, for life in practice, to a termagant or a spitfire, the home becomes anything but a restful retreat. Many men in these circumstances find escape by engaging in business in some distant city, virtually leaving their homes in the posession of the unloved wife.

In western Yunnan modern medical science is still 755 almost entirely unknown, and the ravages of epidemic diseases proceed virtually unchecked. The doctors who practise old-fashioned Chinese medicine are indeed capable

[1] [i.e. the marriage system. --Analyst]

755 of curing lesser ailments with drugs and herbs which have real medicinal value, but many of their specifics are compounded of ingredients chosen for reasons more magical than medical, and if they have a curative effect, it must be attributed to the faith of the patient. Although the climate of Ta Li is healthy, being dry and free from malaria, the lack of a public health service permits infectious disease a
761 free run until the epidemic has spent its force. Consequently few families are free from sickness in the course of the year, and deaths are always to be expected. Inevitably the people, being accustomed to this prospect, are less affected by the untimely death of a relative than peoples who have come to expect long life as the natural thing and regard early decease as a tragic accident. The Min Chia adult of riper years always has his coffin bought and ready, and death when it comes is met with the accustomed preparations without greatly disorganising the life of the household.

764 The funeral is arranged for the first lucky day, determined by consulting the calendar in general use, in which
[292 such days are marked. The whole family at once puts on
765] mourning, the white costume, from headcloth to shoes, which is traditional with the Chinese, and adopted, like most of the funeral rites, by the Min Chia. This costume is worn until after the funeral, and the headcloth and shoes are retained for one month after the death. Until after the funeral the family avoid sitting on chairs or benches, using only low stools close to the ground, and eat only off a low table, as a sign of grief and humility. The musicians, who should in fact be Buddhist priests, but usually in Ta Li are really laymen, are called in to chant sutras before the coffin, which is placed in the main guest hall in front of the altar of the ancestors. Here it remains for at least one day, or until the earliest auspicious day for the funeral, which will

not be more than four or five days later at most. The Min Chia do not follow the custom which prevails in some parts of China of waiting a very long time, perhaps years, for an exceptionally auspicious day before interring the coffin. During these days before the funeral the makers of paper images have been hard at work preparing a number of paper horses, which are placed outside the main gate, and other figures both animal and human, as well as models of houses and sometimes boats, which are to be burned at the funeral for the use of the spirit in the afterworld.

Paper images, in all parts of modern China, have replaced for this purpose the clay figures found in ancient tombs, which are now well known as objects of art in Europe. Their use is to-day traditional for it is no longer customary to make everything that the spirit may be expected to require hereafter in paper, merely a selection of rather traditional objects, two horses, two human attendants (one male and one female), a house, and sometimes a boat. It is also customary to erect a high pole in the courtyard, or in the street outside the house, on top of which a paper heron is affixed. This custom is peculiar to Yunnan, but not to the Min Chia, for it is found in communities of Yunnanese Chinese such as at K'un Ming the provincial capital, and elsewhere. The heron or crane is a Chinese lucky bird, frequently represented as the messenger of the god of happiness, with a bundle of books, emblem of learning and official success, in the beak. But no Min Chia seemed to know why it should be associated with a funeral, and it would seem as if this custom had been merely imitated from the Chinese without its significance being understood. The whole funeral rite is indeed similar to that of the Chinese, and no traces of a different rite or other customs, which may once have prevailed, now exists.

On the morning of the day chosen for the funeral every-

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one related to the deceased arrives at the house, wearing that degree of mourning which their degree of kinship entails. All wear the white headcloth, even if they are guests not related to the family. The large and bulky catafalque, a litter with the poles wrapped in red cloth but decorated with white streamers and rosettes, for white is the colour of mourning, waits at the street door with the bearers hired for the day. The coffin is brought out and placed on it, followed by the nearest relatives, the chief mourner being the eldest son, who follows immediately behind the catafalque, walking with bowed back and dragging steps, supported on each side by two other relatives. The chief mourner must in this way display extreme grief, as if he could no longer walk alone. A large portrait of the deceased, to-day often an enlarged photograph, is carried before the catafalque, and the procession is headed by musicians, and followed by men carrying the paper images, other guests and mourners following behind.

In this way the procession winds about the streets of the city, not taking the most direct road to the west gate, which leads to the slopes of the mountain and the tombs. If the funeral starts from a village it usually proceeds straight to the mountain slopes, for the distance is two or three miles at least. The mourners and relatives not closely related usually turn back at the foot of the slopes in a city funeral, or at the end of the village in a country one, only the closer male relatives following to the grave itself, for the older women could in any case hardly make so long a walk, and the younger ones must not do more than their elders are able to do. At the grave, or sometimes at some point before it is reached, the procession halts, and the paper images are ceremonially burned, paper spirit money and incense sticks being burned at the same time. Then the interment takes place in the grave which has already been dug, and this is temporarily filled in and covered with stones until the 764 permanent monument can be built over it. It is sometimes customary to sacrifice a cock at the grave, the bird having been brought there tied on to the coffin lid. This custom is widespread among the Yunnanese Chinese, but not universal with the Min Chia. It is another example of a Chinese custom not yet wholly adopted.

Those mourners who have not accompanied the funeral to the grave may return to the house where a meal is served to all, either in the courtyard of the house, or if it is too small, in a mat shed erected outside the street door. The cost of this entertainment for a large number of people, and that of the funeral ceremonies as a whole is a real burden on poorer families, and it is often said that the two great causes of debt are the costs of marrying many sons, and burying many relatives. The Min Chia funerals are, of course, much less elaborate than the great funerals seen in the large cities of China, where several hundred hired attendants line miles of street, but even so a succession of deaths in a short time can greatly impoverish a family, since a display on these occasions equal to, or beyond their means, is considered essential to their social standing.

It is sometimes said that the affectation of excessive grief 765 which custom requires conceals a real indifference, but it would be truer to recognise that the function of these elaborate displays is to occupy the mind and time of relatives who would otherwise be left unoccupied with their sad reflections. No doubt Min Chia relations are sometimes not very distressed at the decease of a domestic tyrant or objectionable sister-in-law, but between most members of the family there is usually the same affection as is found elsewhere, and since the circle of a woman's acquaintance is largely confined to relatives, the death of one of these is more likely to be a real loss than would be the case in communities where families soon scatter. A deceased person, by the very fact of death, has become one of the ancestral spirits, and as such an object of reverence in an ancestor worshipping society. The funeral has thus a double significance, it is not only a farewell to the deceased, but also the first act of worship paid to his spirit which has now joined the ancestral pantheon.

CHAPTER 9

INVITATION TO THE FEAST

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WHAT are called modern comforts are unknown as yet to the Min Chia, rich or poor. There is no water supply except wells, no lighting except oil lamps or candles, no sanitation at all. Glass windows are a rare luxury never installed throughout a house, and the panes are small and of inferior quality. Most windows are of paper pasted over wooden lattices, which are very artistic but quite opaque, admitting only a dim light. The only system of heating houses in the cold winter evenings or wet days is the use of charcoal burners, for no Min Chia house has fireplaces or chimneys. In a Min Chia house with paper windows one may have either light or heat, but not both at once. For if the windows are shut the light is dim, and if they are kept open the charcoal brazier is not sufficient to keep the room warm.

These discomforts are inevitable in a country so far removed from the centres where modern luxuries are produced, but the Min Chia do not make the most of the materials they have to hand, even when they are well able to afford them. A bamboo lattice screen hung over the doorway or window will keep out flies from a room in summer, and such screens are occasionally used. Most rooms, however, do not have them, and in the spring months before the rains, the ordinary Min Chia house is black with flies, about which everyone complains. Yet it never seems to occur to them to make use of lattice screens at every doorway. This attitude is indeed usual. Rich men live in discomfort, of which they are well aware, but seem to lack the knowledge of how to improve conditions.

352 The furniture of a Min Chia home is simple. Tables of two kinds, square for eating meals, and smaller oblong occasional tables for tea cups, which, with hard straight back chairs, are ranged around the sides of the guest room. There are also the long carved tables, something like a narrow European sideboard, which are used as altars and stand against the far wall facing the entrance of the guest room. Benches supplement the hard chairs, but except in a few rare rich households, there is no such thing as an easy chair even of the crudest type. The cane armchairs now made in K'un Ming are occasionally brought to Ta Li by members of the wealthier families, but it is exceptional to find more than two or three of these chairs in the best
353 houses. The Min Chia bed is simply a plank platform on four
352 wooden legs, unsprung and unyielding. This is covered with mats and then with quilts until the hardness of the planks is somewhat modified—but for the European body most inadequately modified—and reclining on such a bed is the
352 Min Chia idea of comfort. For cupboards the Min Chia use large chests, and locally made cabinets, of inferior workmanship.

Most of this furniture is very roughly made of soft woods, painted black, or black with red tops, in the case of tables and benches. But a better quality of hard wood furniture, tables, chairs, altars and benches is made at Têng Ch'uan north of Ta Li, and sold at the Yu Tan Hui fair. These pieces are made of red Ch'un wood, a hard wood of the ilex type found only at high altitudes on the Yunnan mountain ranges. The Têng Ch'uan Ch'un wood furniture is beautifully carved and very well made, the table tops cut from a single piece of wood measuring as much as 3ft. by 2ft. 6in. But though handsome, it is only made in the traditional pieces, and does not meet the demands of comfort. If a Min Chia wishes to make a guest comfortable he offers him

a seat on the bed, or rather invites his guest to recline on the 352
bed, which is indeed the only approach to a comfortable seat which he can find.

The fact that beds are always found in the guest room, 342
usually across the altar facing the door, is due to the 362
crowded conditions of even wealthy Min Chia homes, and to the entire absence of the idea of privacy. A Min Chia home, if it is built on four sides of the courtyard, may have twelve rooms on the ground floor, and the same number on the upper floor, but the family, however few, would not dream of each occupying one room. Husband and wife will share one small room, perhaps the grandmother may have one to herself, the rest of the family are crowded together two or more to a room, and the empty part of the house is let to strangers, or, if the family is really large, distributed among other relations. Usually the upper storey, which to western ideas, is the most desirable part of the house, as it alone has windows on both sides, is left empty or used for storing produce or lumber. The Mia Chia do not like to sleep upstairs, and rarely use that part of the house at all.

In spite of the fact that so much space is there to hand, a 511
Min Chia house has usually only one sitting room in use, 342
and that is at once the dining room, guest hall, and probably the bedroom of some member of the family as well. In such conditions privacy is impossible, and fortunately is not appreciated. Min Chia cannot understand why one person should want a room to himself, still less why anyone should want two. They themselves seem quite indifferent to noise and undisturbed by any distraction. Children will learn their lessons reading out loud at the tops of their voices, babies wail, dogs bark incessantly, someone hammers nails into a box, and through all this the master of the house will sit unmoved, indeed unaware, conversing with a friend, reading, or doing accounts.

517 As has been said, the Min Chia have the Chinese respect for learning, but this does not mean that they are very given to intellectual pursuits. Few men read for pleasure, perhaps because the conditions in which they live make it really difficult to do so, or because the constant study of their youth has sickened them. The literature of China is not all solemn philosophy or learned historical commentary. It contains many famous novels and collections of short stories, as well as the works in this vein of modern writers. All these books can be bought quite cheaply in Ta Li city, and are in fact read, but by students, rarely by grown men. It may well be that the younger generation, taught by more modern methods using the current rather than the classical literature, reads with more facility than their elders, and also finds reading more congenial, since they have not wearisome memories of learning classical works by heart before they could understand one word of the text. Whether inspired by duty or pleasure, the only people seen constantly reading, and frequenting the bookshops, are the young.

Almost the only place where a man can get sufficient light to read, or a woman to sew, in a Min Chia home, is the verandah which surrounds the inside of the courtyard, and from which the rooms open off. It might be thought that in a climate like that of Ta Li, when on most days of the year it is pleasant to sit out either in the shade or in the warm winter sun, the Min Chia would make some comfortable way of using the courtyard verandah. But in practice, though they sit there most of the day, they use no chair or couch, but squat down on tiny stools leaning precariously against the columns which support the gallery overhead. Here the older ladies sew and gossip while the children play in the courtyard, the younger women chop wood, wash clothes, thresh grain and do their other

domestic tasks. The courtyard is the real centre of the 517
family life, where everything from the baby's toilet to the ceremonies of Ancestor Worship takes place.

Labour is cheap in Yunnan, but strangely enough even [465]
the wealthiest families have hardly any servants. The women 357
of the family, especially the daughters-in-law and unmarried 567
girls do the house work, cook, sweep the courtyard, and wait at table on the men, except when guests are invited. Then the young sons do the waiting at table, such as there is. Even the richest families rarely have more than one servant, to feed pigs and do the roughest work, and she is always a "*ya t'ou,*" that is to say a slave girl. This system, which resembles the Mui Tsai of south China, but is hardly found in north China at all, is less practised by the Min Chia than in other parts of Yunnan, notably K'un Ming, where almost the only servants obtainable are slave
girls. Slave girls are almost invariably cretinous or dwarfed 732
individuals, who, coming from the poor families where 357
goitre and the consequent cretinism is common, are too 567
deformed, stupid, and unattractive to be married. For it must be remembered that a man has to pay for his bride, and few are willing to marry a cretinous dwarf. Such girls are therefore sold by their parents to the wealthy families as slaves, for life, although it is customary to give them some small remuneration, and if possible, to find them a husband when they are adult. Among the Min Chia of the Ta Li plain, where goitre and cretinism are less prevalent than in the mountain valleys, only a small number of the richer families have slave girls, and perhaps because Min Chia women are more independent in character than the other peoples of Yunnan, the slaves in Ta Li are on the whole much better treated than, for example, they are in K'un Ming. On the other hand the fact that all servants are slave girls, and the independent character of the Min

732 Chia women, make it quite impossible to obtain normal
357 girls as domestic servants for wages. A rich family may
567 thus be able and willing to pay wages and hire servants, but
none can be found, except slaves, who are too stupid to do more than the crudest tasks.

517 In Ta Li, where there are no regular theatres playing at
574 all times, the principal recreation and entertainment of the
252 well to do is feasting. Every family gives parties at frequent intervals, and the male members are constantly being invited out to the homes of their friends and relatives. Women also go out to feasts, but more rarely, on important occasions such as a marriage, the birth of an heir, or the anniversary of some important relative. In most parts of China it is customary for the men to entertain their guests at a restaurant, but in Ta Li, where the only restaurants are the rather simple places catering for travellers, feasts are always given in the home. In certain cases where the family is a small one, and the kitchen not adequate, the food is sent in from a restaurant, but in the larger houses it is prepared by the women of the household themselves. As they do not sit down with the men and guests, they have plenty of time to cook the elaborate dishes served on these occasions.

574 The meal is served in the guest room, which as has been pointed out, is also the only sitting room in the house. Guests are invited for four or five in the afternoon, but no one arrives until at least half an hour, or more usually an hour, after the time named. The invitation card is sent round the day before with all the names of those to be invited written on it. In this way a guest can see who he is going to meet, and can avoid someone he dislikes by declining the invitation. This admirable custom might with advantage be adopted elsewhere. Eight, or at the outside ten, can find room at the round tables used for Min Chia feasts, and unless the party is a celebration for some important occasion, not

more than one table is served. The number of guests may 574
therefore be from four to six, depending on the number of members of the family who will be present. All the guests are, of course, men, and it is not usual for young boys to be invited to these parties. When the guests arrive they are shown into the guest room, or if that is too small to be convenient, the room adjoining, normally some one's bedroom, will be re-arranged for the occasion. Tea 521
is then served with cigarettes, and conversation is carried 574
on until everyone has arrived, perhaps for nearly an hour. The guests arrive early or late in accordance with their willingness, or otherwise, to converse during this wait. After the meal it is customary to leave at once, so that the preliminary period of conversation and tea drinking corresponds to the conversation after dinner in the West.

When everyone has arrived, and the dinner is ready, the 574
host invites them to enter the dining room and be seated. 576
But this is not a simple or rapid operation. The table is round, and the place of honour is that which faces the entrance on the far side of the table, and which usually has the host's best bed and quilts as seat. Every one at once endeavours to sit down as far as possible from this place. The host, protesting, grabs the more honoured or elderly guest by the arm and endeavours to push him towards the seat of honour, but he, levered out of the chair he first sat in, promptly sits down in the next furthest from the place which he knows quite well he must ultimately occupy. All the other guests perform a similar pantomime, the hosts pulling them up and pushing them, protesting politely, to their destined seats. At last this contest of politeness is over and all are seated. The table has as yet nothing on it but chopsticks, small saucers of soy sauce, and four plates of cold food, ham, pickled vegetables, sliced sausage and some other cold vegetable dish.

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Wine cups are then placed on the table and the host fills them up to the brim, or even till they slightly overflow, this being a necessary act of politeness, showing that no wine will be stinted. The guests meanwhile proceed to wipe their chopsticks with pieces of brown coarse paper provided for the purpose, for it is not impolite thus to imply that your host's table ware is not quite clean. Everyone then takes salt and red pepper and mixes them into their [263] saucer of soy sauce. The Min Chia do not like their food as hot as the Ssu Ch'uanese, but they use more pepper than suits most European taste. Fortunately this custom of adding it individually makes it possible to take as little as you wish. Nearly five minutes passes in this way before anything is eaten at all, for the guests must not help themselves, and the host must not press them too soon, for that would seem to imply that they were hungry and had only come for the food.

At last the host says " Please let us drink," and everyone takes one small sip of the rather strong rice wine. Another short pause for conversation, and the host takes up his chopsticks, indicates the dishes of cold food, and says simply, " Please." Thereupon everyone takes one piece of cold food from the dishes, dips it in the soy sauce and eats it, at once putting down their chopsticks. This formal manner of eating with gradually shortening pauses, punctuated by rounds of wine sipping, continues for some time, perhaps a quarter of an hour, when, long before the cold food is finished, the young sons of the house bring in two hot dishes. No one, however, takes any notice of these steaming tasty dishes of chopped chicken and green peas, or meat balls stewed with chestnuts, until another round of wine has been drunk. Then, once more the host invites them to proceed.

These dishes have also to be consumed one by one in

slow time, putting down the chopsticks after each mouthful, 574
and waiting a minute or two till the host motions his 264
guests to continue. But when the boys bring in two more
dishes, while of the first two, still hardly touched, one
remains untasted, the host, after another suitable pause,
and a further round of wine, which by now is beginning to
have a distinct effect on the faces of the guests, says, with a
friendly wave of the chopsticks, "Please help yourselves".
The guests then begin to eat heartily, no longer putting
down the chopsticks after each mouthful, and only pausing
to drink wine at the invitation of their neighbour or their
host. More dishes are brought in, and some of the half
eaten ones taken out, for the ladies to taste, and the stiff
manners of the first part of the meal give way to an in-
creasingly uproarious informality. Talk is loud and slightly 574
fuddled, and is almost drowned by the sharp cries of two 524
neighbours engaged in one of the wine contest games which 273
enliven Chinese feasts. The simplest of these games, intro-
duced into Europe by the agency of the British Navy, is still
popular with the Min Chia.

The two contestants place two full cups of wine between them. Each then raises his right hand and brings it down with the fist in one of three positions ; either palm open, which is called "paper", or fist clenched, which is called "stone", or middle fingers held apart, which is called "scissors". If both contestants have chosen the same gesture, they have to repeat it until they are unlike, for the game consists of three rounds, the one with two out of three winners being successful. If A clenches his fist, i.e. makes "stone" and B has an open palm, then B wins that round, for "paper wraps stone". But next time A makes open fingers, "scissors", and B again has open palm, so B loses that round, for "scissors cut paper". Each gesture conquers one other and is conquered by another ; paper

574 524 273 wraps stone, stone blunts scissors, scissors cut paper. The loser has to drink both cups of wine in two draughts, this being called " *Kan Pei* " " dry cup."

574 264 By the time this game has been played three or four times most of the losers are unconscious of what food they are eating, which is a pity, for it is delicious. Fish from the lake are served whole in brown sweet sauce, and are pulled to pieces with the chopsticks. Half-way through the feast a sweet dish of rice with a brown sugar sauce is served, and eaten not with chopsticks, but with china spoons. No rice is eaten till nearly the end of the meal, and some do not eat any at all. It is considered both unseemly and imprudent to drink wine after rice has been eaten, consequently the rice is only served last, when the guests have drunk their fill. The host must not ask for the rice first, for that would be a hint to the guests to stop drinking, but one of the guests, late in the feast, may ask for rice. The others can continue to drink if they wish to, but when the last dish, the " Fire Pot," is brought on, the wine is finished off. The Fire Pot is a circular trough-like dish, with a charcoal brazier in the centre, and the food consists of raw vegetables and thin slices of meat which are put into the circular trough and cooked lightly on the table, the guests helping themselves as the process continues. This dish is in fact the original from which the well-known Japanese Sukiyaki is derived. In Yunnan it is not eaten as a separate meal, but as the last dish at a feast, or on a picnic, where it has the advantage of being kept hot in the open air.

The host must not be the first to stop eating, even if he has long since had enough, he must toy with some food until at least one of the guests has finished. Each person, as he finishes, lays his chopsticks on the top of his bowl, and lifting it, bows to the host and the others, showing the inside of the bowl, which must be quite free from any

scrap of food. It is very bad manners to leave even a grain 574
of rice in the bowl. The other guests then attempt to put 264
more food in his bowl, but this is only pantomime, and he immediately leaves the table. In fact everyone, as he finishes, at once gets up, for the Min Chia idea of politeness on this point is the exact contrary of our own. For the guest who has finished to linger at the table would suggest to them that he regretted having stopped eating.

Tea and cigarettes are then served to the guests in the 574
adjoining room, and some of the older men usually smoke 276
opium, but in about a quarter of an hour the guests take 273
their leave, for no one is expected to make much conversation after the feast, and many would not be capable of it. The Min Chia never drink wine at other times, for them wine is part of a feast, only to be taken with food, but essential at a party. Drunkenness is thus rare. People drink at a feast until they are more than a little intoxicated, but thereafter they go straight home and sleep, so that a drunken man in the street is an unknown sight. Moreover, only a minority take wine in excess. The most part of the guests drink until they are merry, but in no sense drunk, and the quantity of food eaten at the same time also prevents rapid intoxication. Opium smokers very rarely drink. It is almost an invariable rule to find that those who drink much do not smoke opium, and that those who do, hardly drink more than one cup of wine. I only came to know one man who both smoked opium regularly and also drank heavily, and he was generally regarded as a loose liver.

Apart from feasting there is very little entertainment [529]
available for the Min Chia of the well-to-do class. There is 545
an occasional play given at one of the guild houses, or at a theatre in the town, but this is a rare occurrence. The Guild Houses, being the associations of Chinese merchants, are private, and the entertainments there are given only at

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545 the annual or bi-annual festival of some patron deity. In such cases the play is given on a raised stage at the end of the courtyard, and the guests usually feast first, or during the plays, several being given in succession from about two in 525 the afternoon until nearly midnight. Guests who are not members of the Guild can be invited, and these occasions are often used for gambling, Poker and Ma Chang being the favourite games. Poker has been introduced from Europe, as its Chinese name " *Pa sze* " from the English word " Pass " reveals.

The Min Chia are also fond of gambling, card games being the favorite with adults, and dice with children. Boys throw dice for minute sums of money, the " cash " which is still in use in the countryside, usually gathering in some convenient large gateway with smooth stone steps for this sport. The parents do not seem to consider that this game is unsuitable for children. Adults usually invite guests for cards or Ma Chang early in the afternoon; the play then continues until evening, when the feast is served which ends the entertainment. Stakes are rather high, from one dollar silver to five dollars silver a point, and it is admitted that sometimes men are ruined through gambling losses. Card games or Ma Chang are never played "for love". To the Min Chia the latter game is especially a gambler's game, and indeed in China generally this game has the reputation associated with Baccarat or Chemin de Fer in Europe. Gambling as a form of entertainment is popular not so much for itself, as because there is nothing else to take its place. For the wealthy man who has leisure life in a small town such as Ta Li is dull. The comforts of home life are not sufficient to encourage reading as a pleasure, and there is little to do if he goes out in search of distraction. Card games are always popular in such communities, in all parts of the world, but it is unfortunate, in view of the narrow

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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margins of their economy, that the Min Chia take no 525
pleasure in them unless they are played for high stakes.

Outdoor sports and games are almost unknown. As has 526
been seen basket ball is slowly becoming a popular school game, but it is never played by grown men, except soldiers. Tennis is still virtually unheard of. The Garrison Commander and his staff officers, men who had spent a large part of their lives in other parts of China, or at K'un Ming, had a court in the grounds of the Garrison Headquarters, but after they departed for the war front it was no longer used. Nor do the Min Chia hunt or shoot. Very occasionally young men will go out with a gun on the mountain side, but it is in no sense an organised sport. On the other hand, fishing parties are frequently given by those who live near the lake. Small boats are hired, and the guests are invited for the day, most of which is spent fishing with the line from the boats in the lagoons, or in the shallows of the lake, until in the late afternoon a feast is served. The fish caught are usually small both in size and number, but the guests seem to be more attracted by the boating than by the fishing for which it is an excuse.

Boating on the lake, except at the festival of the Dragon 527
King, is not practised as a pleasure, partly no doubt because the lakeside people have to do it for their livelihood, and those from the city or inland villages can rarely spare the time to walk a considerable distance to the lake, find and hire a boat, and then amuse themselves by aimless cruising. This would seem a fantastic waste of money to the Min Chia. But if some reason can be given for the expedition, they are delighted to find an excuse for sailing on the lake. One such excuse, or reason, is provided by the pear harvest in the orchards on the eastern shore. It has become a custom, annually renewed by some of the lakeside families who are fairly well-to-do, to invite friends for a day's

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The Three Pagodas at the foot of Ts'ang Shan. (Seventh century.)

The Hsi Ma T'ang tarn under the crest of Ts'ang Shan. (14,000 ft.)

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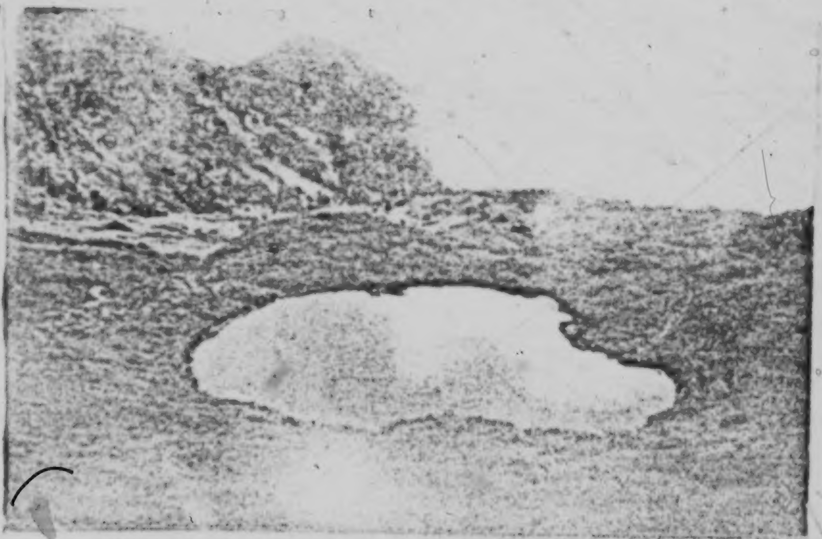

[Face p. 184]

527 excursion to the pear orchards. A boat is hired, a large number of cooking utensils, rice bowls, and baskets of light refreshments, put on board, and the party, perhaps fifteen or so strong, and including the women of the household, embarks. The crossing of the lake takes from three-quarters of an hour to three hours, depending on the wind, so an elastic time-table is essential. The time is whiled away, if the crossing is slow and tedious, by smoking, eating melon seeds and pine nuts, or, for the older men, smoking opium.

Arrived at Dao Chi, the small village on the nearest point of the eastern shore, everyone disembarks and makes for the pear orchards on the mountain sides above the village. A tour of these is made, and the fruit sampled, and carried away in baskets, a small payment being made to the owners of each orchard. Meanwhile, the women, having found a suitable spot, are cooking and preparing the afternoon meal, while some of the young men and boys go down to bathe from the rocky shore, or to fish. About four in the afternoon the meal is served, with the usual Fire Pot, and a light consumption of wine, and the return journey is started before the evening breeze fails. The purchase of several large baskets of fruit, a little cheaper than they could be bought in Ta Li market, is made the excuse for this picnic, for the Min Chia must have a reason for undertaking such an expedition.

This applies equally to all excursions. The "*dso mu*" visits to the graves, described earlier, are in reality nothing but picnics justified by reverence to the ancestral graves, and the same sort of reason is required for visiting any other spot. Consequently, the Min Chia only know a restricted number of the innumerable beauty spots lying close to hand on the mountain. One may visit Wu Wei Ssu, a Buddhist temple with a beautiful garden and some very fine old cedar trees, lying four miles north of the city on the lower mountain slopes. The feast cooked in the temple kitchens (in spite of the fact that no meat or wine should be used in a temple) is served after the guests have spent the afternoon playing cards in the garden. A similar sort of excursion is made to Chung Ho Ssu, the Taoist temple (with an important shrine to the Mountain God) which lies immediately behind and above the city at about 9,000ft. The attraction here is, of course, the magnificent view over the plain and lake, with the city spread out below. These two excursions, which are perhaps still partly pilgrimages for some people, are often made by women also, but very few Min Chia of either sex go to any other places on the mountain.

Young men, it is true, sometimes visit two other beauty spots, which are more difficult of access. Ch'ing P'i Ch'i the Jade Green Spring, which wells up, a perfect azure blue colour, in a cave at the head of a rocky gorge some six miles south of the city, is visited for its beauty and also for the rock inscriptions cut in ancient times to celebrate the visits of distinguished persons. But there are many other gorges, cascades and waterfalls, which are never visited by any one but grass cutters. Unless a place is famous, and has some definite " sight," the Min Chia do not consider it worth a visit, and many men have never troubled to go a mile or two from the city to see scenery which in any other country would be world famous.

A few young men, in recent years an increasing number, for the interest taken by visiting Chinese has stimulated their curiosity, make the ascent of the mountain to the tarn called the Hsi Ma T'ang—the Horse Washing Pool—a name derived from the legend that a deity brings his celestial steeds to this place. This point is only reached by a long and hard climb of five to six hours through the bamboo and rain forests. It lies a hundred feet or so under

527 the knife edge crest of the Ts'ang Shan range, in a hollow covered with a luxuriant growth of golden rhododendrons of great size. In winter, at 14,000ft. it is inaccessible, being deep in snow, but from the end of April it can be reached, and in May or early June, when the rhododendrons are in flower against great banks of unmelted snow lying round the still clear water of the tarn, it is a place of rare beauty, a natural garden owing nothing to the hand of man. A further short climb to the crest of the range opens up the immense panorama of western Yunnan, to ranges far west of the Mekong River, more than one hundred miles away, while northwards there is an unbroken view of the great Yu Lung Shan snow range, 20,000 feet or more, on the borders of Tibet.

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824
[242] Curiously enough although the Min Chia are fond of flowers and cultivate many varieties of camelia in their courtyard gardens very few of them even know the names of the mountain flowers which at all seasons are so prolific. Since they confine their excursions to a few places, where some of these flowers do not grow, they have no name for the wild blue irises which are found in the mountain gorges, or the pansies and crocuses which carpet the grass under the trees of the high rain forest in May. They cultivate a few varieties of azalea; which on Ts'ang Shan is the common shrub growing as thickly as heather on a Scottish mountain. Rhododendrons are not easily acclimatised to the lower level of the plain, for the best and largest grow on the higher slopes and up to the crest itself. Rock orchids and other varieties growing in the bamboo forest are sometimes brought down and grown, more or less successfully, in pots, but the Min Chia have made no attempt to cultivate the wild fruit, raspberries and red currants, which flourish in the higher valleys and gorges on Ts'ang Shan.

INVITATION TO THE FEAST

It is, perhaps, natural that in a country where the only 484 means of communication are walking or riding at a foot's 562 pace, and where in consequence everyone in the ordinary course of their business has to walk long distances, walking for exercise is not considered to be rational behaviour. For this reason excursions which have no definite aim in view are never made. Travel is looked upon, quite naturally in view of the conditions, as a hardship which should be avoided if possible, and only undertaken for urgent reasons of business. The Min Chia peasant who has his farm to work probably never goes more than a few miles from his native village in a lifetime. He would never go up the mountain unless it was to cut wood or fodder, and his visits to the city or places further off are only to attend the fortnightly fair or the country markets. Women travel even less. A few annual pilgrimages to the big festivals at temples, or short journeys to town for market days are all they are ever likely to do, and even the women of the wealthy class rarely if ever go to distant places. Their recreations are thus even more limited than those of the men, for they do not enjoy the same opportunities of feasting in a neighbour's house, except on great occasions such as a wedding. Yet wealthy though they may be they are not idle, for if a woman has few recreations she has many occupations. The care of numerous children, housework and cooking, take up most of the day, and in her spare time she has needlework and embroidery to pass the time. Few women read, for though they are taught sufficient characters in school to write letters or keep accounts, they have no time for reading as a pleasure. The peasant women, of course, for the most part still remain illiterate.

CHAPTER 10

ON THE ROAD

491 489 "Good for ten years, bad for ten thousand"—the old Chinese proverb aptly characterises the stone-paved caravan paths which are the only roads of Yunnan. To modern ideas there are no real roads in Yunnan at all, except the motor road to Burma built in the past two years. That, indeed, is the only road on which wheeled vehicles can pass. But, as the English word "road" implies, a road was once a track primarily for riding, not for vehicles. Goods passed on pack animals not in carts, and this ancient manner of travel is still the daily practice of Yunnan. Once it is recognised that travel means walking or riding at a foot's pace, and that roads are any track along which a pack pony can pick its way, then all journeys are long and slow, but no place is really inaccessible.

438 484 Consequently, the people of Yunnan, the Min Chia and their neighbours, do intercommunicate, although to the stranger the country appears to be almost impassable. It is really the indomitable Chinese trader who has opened up these difficult and precarious communications, for the indigenous population left to themselves would probably have remained isolated. The Chinese merchant and, to a lesser extent, the Chinese government, built the bridges without which the rivers, too deep to ford, and too swift to ferry, would have been impassable. They built them with the labour of the native population to serve the needs of the ruling race, as is commonly the case in all colonial development. Trade is still in the hands of the immigrant Chinese merchants, and though the personnel of the official class is drawn from all the civilised races of Yunnan its spirit and

policy is essentially Chinese. Consequently, travellers can 438
be divided into two classes, merchants and transport men 484
who make their living by carrying goods, and officials and students who travel from one post to another or from one educational institution to another. As in the European Middle Ages, there is the merchant, the nobleman (here the official), the wandering student, and lastly the pilgrim, the Buddhist monk and the Taoist priest peddling charms from some sacred mountain, or carrying out a pilgrimage to some famous monastery.

The Min Chia, being one of the more advanced of the Yunnanese native peoples, and living in a region which is an important centre of communications, also engage in commerce with distant places and provide officials for the civil service. Moreover, since Ta Li and the country round about is thickly populated, many Min Chia have to seek work in other places, even as far as the jade mines in Burma. Travel thus plays a part in the lives of many Min Chia families, the rich seeking educational advantage or official position in the provincial capital, the merchant trading to Burma or Tibet, the poor man emigrating from his cramped family farm or looking for seasonal work in the Burma border country during the winter months.

There are also the regular transport men, muleteers and 492
porters, who earn a living by constant travel over a regular 482
stage. Not all of these are Min Chia. Muleteers are very often Yunnan Moslems, or Yunnan Chinese, porters almost invariably immigrant Ssu Ch'uanese of the poorest class. Very few Yunnanese of any race will do porterage. The muleteers, men of a much higher social standing than the porters, are on the contrary, always natives of the province, and some Min Chia engage in this rather well-paid business. Partly for these reasons there exists a rivalry, almost a hostility

492 between porters and muleteers, who if possible frequent
482 different inns and do not like to travel together.

Most of the transport of goods is handled by muleteers
492 who work a regular section of the main trade routes. Thus
439 the longest caravan route in constant use is the road con-
487 necting Suifu on the Yang Tze, in Ssu Ch'uan with Bhamo on the Irrawady in Burma. Over this route there is constant traffic in silk from Ssu Ch'uan, which it still pays to transport for nearly a thousand miles on mule back. The silk is packed in bales at Suifu, each mule taking two bales, and is taken by the first caravan to Chao T'ung in Yunnan, about two hundred miles. There it is transferred to another set of mules and muleteers who take it on to K'un Ming (Yunnanfu), a further two hundred and fifty miles. A third caravan, often in charge of Ta Li men, takes it the next two hundred and seventy miles to Hsia Kuan, near Ta Li, this section taking thirteen days. At Hsia Kuan it is transferred to a fourth caravan, also very often run by Ta Li or Hsia Kuan men, who take it another thirteen stages to T'eng Yueh, in western Yunnan. Here it is transferred for the fifth and last time to T'eng Yueh men whose mules are acclimatised to the heat of the Burmese plains, which is very dangerous to plateau bred mules. They take it eight days down through the jungles of the border country to Bhamo, where it is shipped on river steamers for Rangoon. Suifu is generally reckoned to be thirty-two stages from K'un Ming, and Bhamo is a further thirty-four days' journey, in all sixty-six stages. This is probably the longest pack-horse trade route still in regular operation.

On the return journey these caravans take up cotton thread for the innumerable handlooms still used in Yunnan, but very many of the returning caravans have no loads, or pick up short distance local freights to pay their way, and this has been more noticeable in recent years since the fall of the exchange made goods bought in Burma 492 too dear for the Yunnan market. Another long regular 439 route is the tea road from Pu Erh in south Yunnan, about 487 twenty days' journey south of Ta Li, to A Tun Tze on the border of Tibet in north Yunnan, which is eighteen stages from Ta Li. At this point the tea is handed over to Tibetan caravans which take it on to Lhasa and other points in Tibet. This road passes through Hsia Kuan and Ta Li, and the section from Hsia Kuan to Wei Hsi, half-way to A Tun Tze, is usually worked by men from the Ta Li plain.

These routes are called roads, because that is the usual 491 translation of the Chinese word "*lu*," but it would be more accurate to call them tracks or paths. At one time, probably after the Ming conquest of Yunnan, these routes were paved with blocks of stone or cobbles, the paved track being about five feet wide with a smooth line of dressed stones down the middle. Except in a few places nearest to towns this paving has either completely disappeared, or become so disjointed and broken up as to be nearly impassable. The animals naturally dislike walking on broken slippery stones set at all angles in the mud, and where possible they have trodden out [illegible] track on one side. This practice is resented by [illegible]ers of the fields adjoining the path, and they plant [illegible] hedges of wild roses or prickly pear to confine the mules to the old broken track. If a man rides a horse on such a path the animal, trying to avoid the broken stones and mud holes, keeps to the outside edge and carries the rider under the long trailing shoots of the rose bushes, which soon tear his clothes to ribbons. The muleteers, of course, never ride their beasts.

Such stretches of broken track between the rose and cactus hedges only account for a small part of the day's stage. With very few exceptions every stage on any road in Yunnan involves climbing a range of mountains in the

491 morning and descending to another valley in the afternoon.
This is because the roads going from east to west have to
491 cross an endless series of steep ranges which run from north
133 to south. It might be hoped that if one travelled northwards
or southwards one would therefore be able to follow the valleys, but this is rarely the case. The river valleys of Yunnan are for the most part gorges so narrow as to be impracticable, only opening out into a lake plateau at wide intervals. Consequently, if one travels from north to south it is not possible to follow the valley down stream, because it soon becomes a gorge. The road therefore climbs up to the crest of the range, follows along it until the next lake plateau is reached, and then descends again.

491 Consequently the average stage of about twenty miles
137 falls into four well-marked divisions. Firstly, two or three
miles across the flat lake plateau between the rose hedges and rice fields until the second stage, the ascent, is reached. This is usually long and steep, a twisting track, once stone steps, now broken into a slide of rubble, rocks, and—after rain—slippery stretches of red mud. On both sides of the track the uncultivated slopes of the mountains are covered with scrub of azaleas, winter green, wild tea, and other flowering shrubs, shaded by a sparse forest of pine trees. As the road winds higher this forest gets taller and denser until, about the 10,000 ft. level, which on most roads is the crest, the pines give place to chestnuts and very tall well-grown non-deciduous trees of the ilex type, called Ch'un, beneath which there is a dense growth of rhododendron and bamboo. The tops of the mountains are often flat, with open grassy glades and running cold streams among the forest, and such a place is chosen for the midday halt, where the horses can graze.

491 The descent in the afternoon is made through similar forest, although sometimes the east side of a mountain will

be much dryer and less wooded than the western face, 491 where the monsoon rains strike. The path, which is difficult enough for the animals on the climb, becomes much worse on the descent. Only a Yunnan-bred mule or pony would face a descent of broken stone steps, steep, set at all angles, often slippery with wet mud from some oozing stream, and the animal fully laden with loads weighing up to two hundred pounds. Yet they very rarely fall, picking their way from stone to stone, jumping a mud hole, or wading gingerly through the discoloured waters of a stream. This descent may take from two to three hours, about seven or eight miles, and leads to the last section of the stage, the final two or three miles across the cultivated valley to the small town or village which is the stage point.

Sometimes, even on the main routes, as for instance on 491 the road to Bhamo four days west of Hsia Kuan, there is 485 a long stretch of uninhabited mountain country with no cultivated valleys or villages. Here, after toiling all day up and down wooded ranges the caravans must rest for the night at some tiny collection of huts on the mountain side. Even on the most frequented roads it is rare to see any habitations after the valley is left behind, except perhaps at the midday halting place where there are a few teahouses and food stalls. Distances are long, roads execrable, the country deserted (and formerly full of robbers), the inns, when the day is done, dirty and dilapidated. The scenery and the climate are superb, but the inhabitants, accustomed to them from childhood, see no pleasure in travelliing.

Distances in China are measured by the *li*, which is 804 approximately one-third of the English mile. As is often the 491 case with peasants in mountain lands, the measure is a variable unit depending on the nature of the road. Thus, in flat country, a *li* is really about one-third of a mile. Ta Li

804 to Hsia Kuan is always said to be thirty *li*, along the plain,
491 and is ten miles in fact. When a muleteer says that the day's stage is seventy *li*, which includes crossing a range, the real distance is not twenty-three miles or so, but more nearly nineteen or twenty. This is the average length of a stage, but often it is called eighty *li*, which means a full twenty miles or more, and the longest stage on the K'un Ming-Bhamo road, from Sha Ch'iao to P'u P'eng, midway between Ta Li and K'un Ming, is said to be one hundred *li*, and is in fact a full thirty miles. Muleteers always know the length of the stage, but they usually have no idea of the distance between intermediate points. If, after travelling for about half the day, one asks a muleteer how far it is to the stage point, he may reply forty *li*, or ten *li*, or fifteen, apparently unable to calculate broken distances.

491
485 Stage points are either small cities or villages, which in wild country may be only a few houses. The administrative walled cities, *hsien*, are often not situated on the main roads, or do not form stage points if they are, but only midday halts. This may be because the muleteers prefer to avoid the seats of authority. The administrative cities are generally up to three days' journey apart, and the intermediate stage points are villages, some of which are only collections of inns living entirely on the transit trade. Inns are of two kinds, "horse inns" and "guest inns". The "horse inn" is what in western Asia is called a caravanserai, a large courtyard surrounded on three sides by stables, and a big room on the fourth side for the muleteers, with a loft for hay and fodder overhead. These inns are frequented only by the regular transport caravans, and can stable about a hundred horses a night. Guest inns are also built round courtyards, and often have two, the one at the back surrounded by stables for the riding and baggage horses of

travellers, while the front courtyard gives access to the 491
rooms where the guests sleep. These are small and simply 485
furnished with trestle and plank beds covered with a straw mat, for the traveller carries his own bedding. Sometimes they may have a table and a chair or two for meals, but usually there is only one table, on the courtyard verandah, where the guests dine. Most inns are dirty, unswept and tumbledown places, " battered caravanserais," which in summer are verminous, and in winter cold and draughty. On the other hand they are cheap. If there is a restaurant attached, as is often the case, the traveller will pay under one local dollar for food and lodging, and the meals are good and plentiful. If the value of the Yunnan new dollar is taken as eightpence, before the war with Japan, the traveller need not pay more than sixpence for two good meals and his room.

Almost all inns provide rice cooked in the inn kitchen, but in small places the traveller must buy and cook his own meat and vegetables. Inns also provide rice wine, and there is generally a teahouse nearby. In towns like Hsia Kuan, where the long-distance caravans change horses, there are immense inns with a series of courtyards running back from the street, able to stable two hundred horses if necessary, and these inns let out their rooms to business houses as offices. On the same roads in small places in the mountains there may be only one inn, almost a farmhouse, with two or three rooms at most, and there the horses have to be picketed in the courtyard while the late arrivals have to doss down wherever they can find room. Accommodation is thus always poor and often very bad, but food is always good and frequently excellent. In small towns a restaurant, simply a long dark room with a cooking stove and four or five tables, provides the most tasty and delicious meals for very low prices, and the small wayside places at the midday halting

491 485 points serve excellent well-cooked food. The Yunnanese have no idea of comfort, yet are born cooks.

492 Regular transport muleteers are necessarily hard tough men inured to all weathers, and independent in character. They live a life on the roads, doing a thirteen-days' stage and then back again month after month, with usually only one day's rest at the terminal points. It is sometimes customary for travellers to rest one day in seven or eight, but the regular transport caravans always make their full thirteen or fourteen days' stage without halts. Caravans number up to forty or fifty mules with one man to every three animals, the leading mules being particularly fine strong animals carrying a bell and a plumed headdress of woollen pompoms by which they can be heard and seen at a distance. These animals know every inch of the road and find their own way, the muleteers often walking well behind the caravan, for as long as the mules can hear the leader's bell they will follow without being urged. Some of the muleteers carry arms, either a pistol, an old rifle, or swords, and even in those parts of the country where "small bandits", that is to say individual footpads, still exist, such caravans are never molested, since the muleteers are both more courageous and better armed than the robbers.

492 484 The routine of travel followed by the caravan men is curious, and to the ordinary traveller not very convenient. The men get up in the middle of the night, about two in the morning, and cook themselves a large meal of rice and vegetables, and then, when that is eaten, go to sleep again for another three hours. At six they rise, saddle the mules and start out at once without taking anything to eat. After about four hours on the road, round ten o'clock, they halt at some place where there is plenty of grass, a stream of water, and some shade trees—and in Yunnan such places are

easy to find. The mules are then unsaddled and turned loose 492
to graze, a fire is lit and rice and vegetables cooked for the 484
midday meal. Some of the men sleep in the shade, and even after they have finished their meal they are in no hurry to depart, often spending fully two hours or more at these halting places. At last, about one o'clock, they call the mules in, each muleteer having a peculiar cry which the animals in his charge know and obey. They are saddled, and the loads lifted on, and the caravan goes on for another four hours or so until the stage point is reached about five in the evening.

The " horse inn " where they lodge is always one at the 492
far end of the town from the gate by which they enter, or at 485
the furthest extremity of the village street, to make the departure in the morning easier, as in this way two caravans bound in opposite directions do not have to cross in the narrow street when they set out almost before the sun has risen. Often the streets of a town are so narrow that two mules with their bulky packages fixed on either flank would hardly be able to pass without bumping, and the consequent confusion. As soon as the caravan enters the inn yard the leader and each mule in turn, as it comes in, is unloaded. The loads are neatly arranged in this order so that they can be placed on the right mules in the morning with the minimum delay or confusion. Each load is bound on to a a wooden frame which slips into slots on the pack saddle, and the loads can be taken off or put on independently of the saddle itself. Thus, the loads are never untied from one end of the journey to the other, and only have to be lifted on or off the pack saddles.

Once unloaded in the right order, the horses are unsaddled, each saddle being placed on the right load, and the animals are then given their feed in the stables. Not until all their wants have been attended to, do the men begin to

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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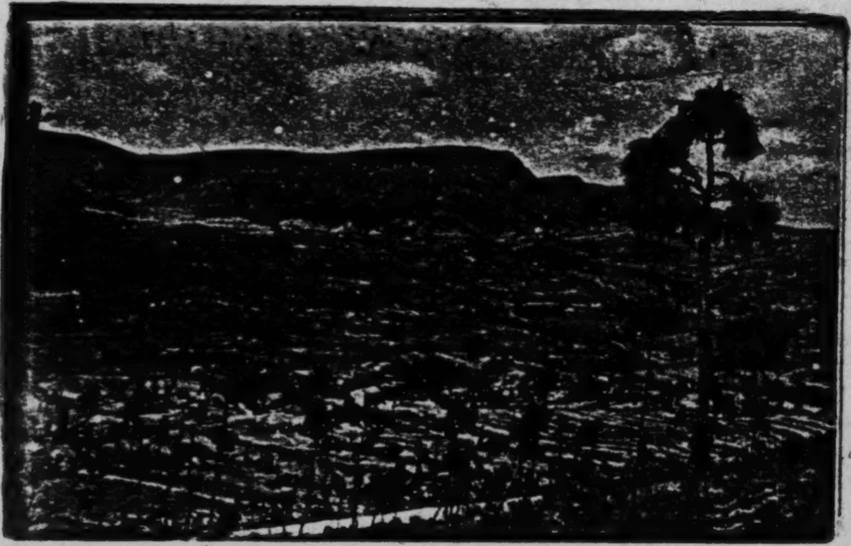

On the Burma Road. Yang Lao Kuan pass.

Min Chia junks on Erh Hai lake.

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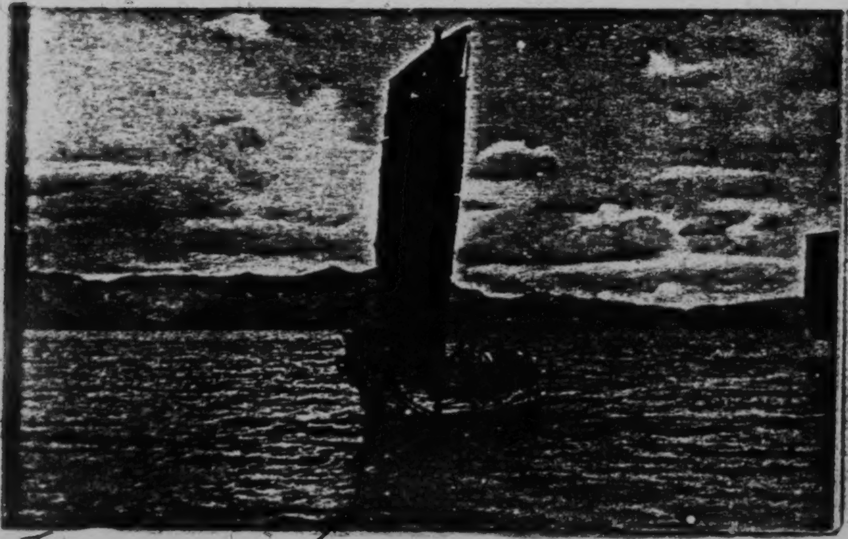

[Face p. 198]

492 cook their own supper. Hay and fresh-cut grass can be
485 bought in these towns on the street, or from girls who come
round to the inns to sell it for about one nickel a load, or about one and one-third farthings for all a girl can carry on her back. When the men have cooked and eaten their supper, about seven o'clock or a little later, they go to sleep until they awake for their midnight meal, for there is nothing to do in a Chinese village after dark, and darkness falls about seven or eight at latest in these southern latitudes. The object of this curious routine, which seems to waste the best hours of the day in a prolonged halt, is to feed the animals free on the mountain grass, instead of having to buy more hay and fodder for them. Therefore, the early start obviates the need of buying fodder from the inn in the morning as well as the evening. No muleteer could ever give a really satisfactory explanation for the habit of rising in the early hours, eating a meal, and then going to sleep again. It is a habit which perhaps explains why other travellers do not like to sleep, or rather try to sleep, in horse inns.

Travellers not attached to a caravan do not have to follow this routine, though if they are riding mules, the men insist on a long midday halt to feed the animals free on mountain grass. The usual starting hour for travellers is eight in the morning, after taking an early meal. As this has to be cooked it means that all travellers rise at dawn, but those who travel with porters can start a little later.
482 Porters and litter carriers go faster than pack animals on
492 the flat, but have to make frequent short halts, and their
pace on the steep ascents is, if anything, slower than the mules. Consequently, they do not do a longer stage than the caravans, and by the end of the day have not done the whole stage any faster. For this reason, and because it is more expensive to hire porters than to take mules,

482 492 most travellers ride. The hire of a mule per day is on the average one dollar fifty cents silver, but the price depends on the nature of the journey. If going towards K'un Ming or some other important centre, the price is lower, for there is more competition and the muleteers can be certain of taking a load of goods back on the return journey. If the journey is outward to the north of Yunnan or to some small place, the price is higher, as the muleteer may have to bring his beasts back unladen.

482 493 Women and those who are sick, or who do not care to ride, can travel by litter, or *h'ua kan*, meaning literally a "flowery pole," the West China substitute for the sedan chair. In this mountainous country a sedan chair is too heavy and awkward for ordinary use, and only the highest officials use them, more as mark of "face" than for convenience. The *h'ua kan* is a light simple construction of two bamboo poles joined at the ends by two cross pieces, which rest on the shoulders of the porters. The seat is contrived of a mesh of cords covered with the traveller's bedding, with a loop as a foot rest. A light hood of oil cloth is sometimes fixed over the traveller's head on curved bamboo lathes. The average Yunnanese, especially women, are light enough to be carried in this way by two men, but heavier individuals have to have three porters, the third man relieving the others in turn. Porters are paid a dollar silver a day, and as other men have to be hired to carry the baggage, this method of travelling is more expensive.

482 *H'ua Kan* carriers travel at a rapid pace, rather faster than a quick walk, and keep this up on the flat for about three miles. They then rest for perhaps a quarter of an hour, if possible, at a wayside teahouse, or if there is none, at some place where there is a shady tree. On the ascents they slow down to a steady deliberate pace which they can keep up for long distances, with short halts every hour or

482 so. The man at the back cannot see the road ahead, and the one in front therefore directs him when the road is rough or when an obstacle is encountered. These directions are given in set formulae framed in rhyming slang, and the rear porter replies in the same manner to show that he has heard and understood. These phrases cannot be literally translated without losing their character, but English equivalents would be, *e.g.*, if the road is wet ahead, the leader says "Slippery place", and the one behind replies "Mend your pace" (*hua te hen—ch'ai te wen*).

Porters and litter bearers are always Ssu Ch'uănese, and usually ragged wretches drawn from the poorest class who have taken to the roads to earn a hard living. Most of them are opium smokers, but though this probably shortens their lives, they do not seem to be any the worse for it when on the road. They spend their entire lives travelling to and fro over these mountain roads, and though unable to read and quite unfamiliar with maps, many porters know every road in south-west China, and can repeat the names of the stage points from Bhamo to Ch'ung King, more than a thousand miles. They never seem to save enough money to retire, [733 461] for their wages go on opium to ease the pain in their aching shoulders after twenty miles of rough road. The muleteers, who are men of substance, owning their animals and often some land as well, despise these human beasts of burden, who are also strangers from another province.

484 491 Neither muleteers, porters, nor travellers have any real protection against bad weather. In the winter months, when most travelling is done, rain is rare and light, but on the high ground it turns to sleet or snow, and conditions can be very bad in such weather. The mud road becomes a slippery slide on which neither man nor beast can keep a sure footing, and the broken stone paving is, if anything, worse

going. The men wear straw sandals which grip well on 484
dry ground or rock, and can be replaced in any village 491
when worn out, but in wet weather they soon disintegrate, and the men finish the day barefoot splashing through the deep red mud. The wide straw hats with an oil cloth cover, which porters and muleteers wear, keep off most of the rain, but a felt blanket thrown over the shoulders is the only protection against the cold. They arrive soaked through at the inn, where they can perhaps dry their clothes and warm themselves at the cooking fire. Travellers, if in a *hua kan*, can get some protection from the hood, but this is inadequate in heavy rain, and the unprotected legs and feet are in any case soaked and frozen.

In summer, the rainy season, the roads are nearly im- 491
passable. The stone paving is usually lost to sight beneath muddy puddles of unknown depth, and the unpaved tracks on the mountain are deep in sticky mud. Streams overflow making wide stretches of water across the roads, or flow strongly down the road itself, the mountains are buried in thick mists making the way difficult to find, and the tracks, when passing above a gorge or ravine, are often carried away by a landslide. In such cases no one ever repairs the damage unless the route is the only possible one, the usual practice being to make a detour through the scrub above the washed out section. In this way the roads gradually depart further and further from the old line, until long stretches of paved path are abandoned, and slowly disappear under the brushwood.

It is indeed difficult to see why anyone ever took the trouble to make these paved paths, since they very soon fall into disrepair, and even when in good condition are most unsuitable for pack animals. The mules always avoid a stone path if they can find a strip of earth alongside, or can make a detour through the scrub. In north China, where cart and horse traffic is the ordinary way of travel, there are no paved roads, and in south China where horses are unknown, all traffic on these paved paths is by porter. It is only in Yunnan that pack horse and porter traffic are found in competition: As the paved roads are in fact a hindrance to horses rather than a help, one may surmise that at the time they were first built, in the Ming dynasty, the country was governed by officials from south China, who knew nothing about horse traffic and built the roads primarily for moving troops. The so-called Yunnan pony, a smaller animal even than the Mongolian pony used in north China, is really bred in Tibet and the border country where paved roads have never existed.

The character of the ancient bridges built by the Chinese authorities across the rivers of Yunnan also suggests that formerly horse traffic was less important. Many of these are humped stone bridges which pack animals have great difficulty in crossing without slipping on the steep smooth stones. In fact, if the stream is shallow, the muleteers always make the animals ford the river, and the animals themselves will often try to ford a deep stream to avoid crossing the bridge. The great rivers such as the Mekong and Salween are crossed by iron chain suspension bridges, some of which date from Ming times. These bridges are made of planks laid across heavy iron chains which are anchored in the rocks at either end. Since these chains are far too heavy to have been carried any distance they must have been forged on the spot with iron brought by mule pack.

At the present time these mediaeval methods of travelling are still unchallenged except by the new motor road from K'un Ming to Burma, which was opened for traffic in the late autumn of 1938. This immense undertaking was built by forced labour as a war measure, in two sections. The first section of 277 miles from K'un Ming to Hsia Kuan,

near Ta Li, was finished in the spring of 1938, some parts 491
of it having been in partial use for two years before that date. It crosses five major passes and winds for long distances on the crests of the mountains, in a region absolutely uninhabited. The second section, from Hsia Kuan to the Burmese frontier at Nam Kan is slightly longer, about 290 miles, and passes through much more difficult country. The mountains on this section are both higher and steeper, and the two great rivers, the Mekong and Salween, had to be bridged anew, as the old mule bridges were not strong enough for wheeled traffic. Work was started in December, 1937, and the first through traffic passed over the road from Burma in December, 1938, an achievement which is barely credible to anyone familiar with the country. This section was also built by forced labour, the inhabitants of districts up to one hundred miles from the road being brought to work on it, where they camped in shelters made of boughs and turf. It is probable that not far short of one hundred thousand men and women were employed in this year building the road.

It does not seem likely that the existence of the motor road will, at least for many years, destroy the old caravan trade. The silk road finds an outlet at Bhamo, which is the most convenient port on the Irrawaddy, and therefore does not follow the line of the motor road for the last one hundred and fifty miles. The tea road from south Yunnan to Tibet is also unaffected by the motor road which crosses it at right angles at Hsia Kuan. Moreover, it is likely to be much cheaper to send goods by mule than by motor car; the opening of the Hsia Kuan—K'un Ming section of the Burma road did not affect the transit of goods from K'un
Ming by mule at all. Individual travellers, on the other hand, 491
naturally preferred to travel by bus when possible, and do 494
thirteen stages in three days. The passenger service, how-

491 494 ever, remains irregular and slow. Days pass when there are no buses running, and when they do run they are often delayed by breakdowns or by subsidence of the new-made road.

491 The construction of motor roads does not therefore have at first any profound effect on the lives of the Yunnanese country folk. Indeed, their only direct concern with these roads is in the building of them, which they have to do by forced labour. This duty is the more unwelcome as they themselves cannot use the road when it is finished. Mules are not allowed on the motor roads, because the passage of large caravans of mules not only destroys the surface of the road when it is newly laid, but also interferes with motor traffic. The Yunnanese mule or pack pony has naturally never seen a motor car, or even a wheeled cart, and in consequence they stampede in wild alarm as soon as one appears. The proportion of muleteers to animals is small, for the caravans on the old pack roads need very little control, and therefore when a caravan of fifty or more mules stampedes at the sound of an approaching car, the ten or twelve men in charge cannot quiet them, loads are thrown off, and the frightened animals career wildly down the road communicating their panic to any other beasts they meet.

The muleteers therefore would not use the motor roads, even if they were allowed to do so, and the existing transport system derives no benefit from the construction of these roads. Nor do the other wayfarers, *hua kan* bearers and porters make much use of the new route. A motor road in mountainous country has to wind about by long detours to climb the ranges, and it is in practice quicker for those on foot to cut across the hills by the old paths which are so much shorter, if also steeper. Porters and litter bearers, as has been mentioned above, like to stop for a rest and a drink of tea every few miles, and these teahouse resting places 491 are all on the old tracks, since the motor road winding about the hillsides passes through uninhabited forest country for many miles on end. The same difficulty occurs in regard to sleeping accommodation, for the foot passenger can at most do twenty-five miles in a day, and in some parts the motor road, making a long detour, does not touch any village for more than forty miles. For these reasons the foot passenger traffic can make no use of the new road either.

Where a public bus service exists it is only a small 494 number of wealthy people who can afford to use it. The fare to Hsia Kuan from K'un Ming was at first seventeen New Yunnan dollars, and then was raised to twenty-one. No poor man could afford this fare for a single journey, low though it is by European standards. A poor man, even a young student going up to K'un Ming to the Middle School, would find it much cheaper to walk the distance in thirteen days than to ride in the bus for three. By walking he would only have the small charges for food and lodging to pay, for he would take his scanty luggage on his back. The large numbers of men who go down to Burma for work in the winter months also always travel on foot, carrying their baggage on baskets and poles. For the poor man in Yunnan, Shanks' pony is and will long remain the only conveyance.

Unlike any other province in China, except neighbouring 505 Kwei Chou, Yunnan has no water communications of any importance. There are no navigable rivers in the province. Although it is crossed by four of the greatest rivers, the Yang Tze, West River, Mekong and Salween, not one of them can be navigated in Yunnan. Yet in spite of the isolation and distance from other navigable water, there is an active boat traffic on the great Yunnan Lakes, and on the most isolated of all, the Erh Hai at Ta Li, the boats are the biggest and best made of any in Yunnan. The Erh Hai

505 is thirty miles in length, with a width varying from seven miles at the widest point, to about three miles at the narrowest. It is thus an excellent means of communication between the towns and villages on its shores, and there is regular traffic in goods and passengers between these places.

Ta Li itself is not on the shores of the lake, being about two miles from the nearest point where boats touch, the village of Shier Yu. There is a local belief that once the water of the lake came much further up on the plain than is now the case, and this seems to be confirmed by the existence of humped-back bridges across what are now small ditches, but which it is said were once waterways on which boats navigated. On the other hand, Hsia Kuan and Shang Kuan, the two fortress towns at either end of the lake, are built on the edge of the water, and Têng Ch'uan beyond the northern end of the lake, can be reached by smaller boats going up the Erh river estuary. There are also three or four large market villages on the eastern shore, of which the most important is Wa Shih. Heavy and bulky freight is frequently shipped at Hsia Kuan and carried up to Shang Kuan by boat, where it is taken on by mule to districts further north, as this saves mule hire for two stages. At the Yu Tan Hui fair, held near Shang Kuan, almost all the goods and many of the passengers arrive by boat, but this, of course, is an exceptional occasion. The greater part of the lake traffic is in perishable foodstuffs, which are consumed locally. Thus, all the fruit for the Ta Li and Hsia Kuan markets comes across the lake from Wa Shih and other villages on the eastern shore, which are only a day's journey from the orange groves in the Pin Ch'uan plain. On their return journey these boats take firewood, which is scarce on the dry eastern shore, and also cargoes of dressed granite building stone and marbles for tomb stones. Tiles for roofing, which are made near Hsia Kuan,

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are usually shipped to all the villages and towns around the lake. 505

This traffic is entirely in the hands of Min Chia boat people, for none of the boat owners are Yunnanese Chinese or Moslems. The fact is interesting, for it raises the problem of whence the Min Chia obtained a knowledge of boat building and navigation. The nearest places where large sailing boats are in use are the Irrawaddy at Bhamo, about three hundred miles from Ta Li, and the K'un Yang lake, near which stands K'un Ming, the provincial capital. This lake is two hundred and seventy miles from Ta Li, and the junks used there are in every way unlike those that ply on the Erh Hai at Ta Li. The Erh Hai boats, which have the 501 distinction of sailing on what is probably the highest 502 sheet of navigated water in the world (6,700ft.), are much larger than those on the K'un Yang lake, and many details of their construction suggest that they are the product of a long and independent development. The largest ships are fifty feet long, with a beam of six to eight feet, and are built of heavy walnut planks, pegged together without the use of nails, the joints being closed with lime and cement, not caulked. This method seems clumsy, but in fact they do not leak if well looked after. The boat is almost flat-bottomed, but is fitted with a very large rudder which, when in use, projects deeper than the bottom of the boat and serves as a keel to correct leeway. This rudder has to be taken up and shipped when the boat approaches shallow water.

The Min Chia count on the wind for propulsion, and such oars as exist are rudimentary and clumsy paddles only used for manoeuvring the large boats in calms where the water is too deep to use poles. Boats are fitted with a mast which is made of pine, and is often thirty feet long. The sail is made of rice straw mats, strengthened with bamboo lathes so that when lowered it folds on itself in concertina fashion. It is raised by hauling on a cowhide rope, which passes over

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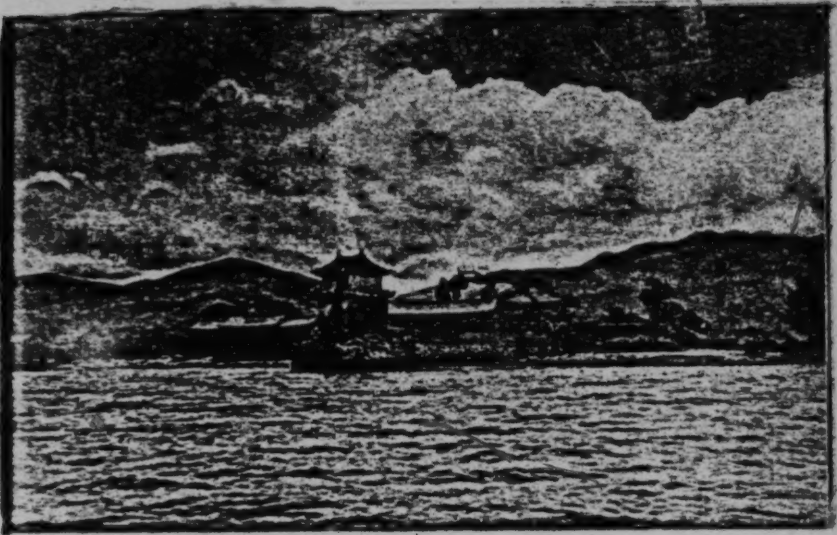
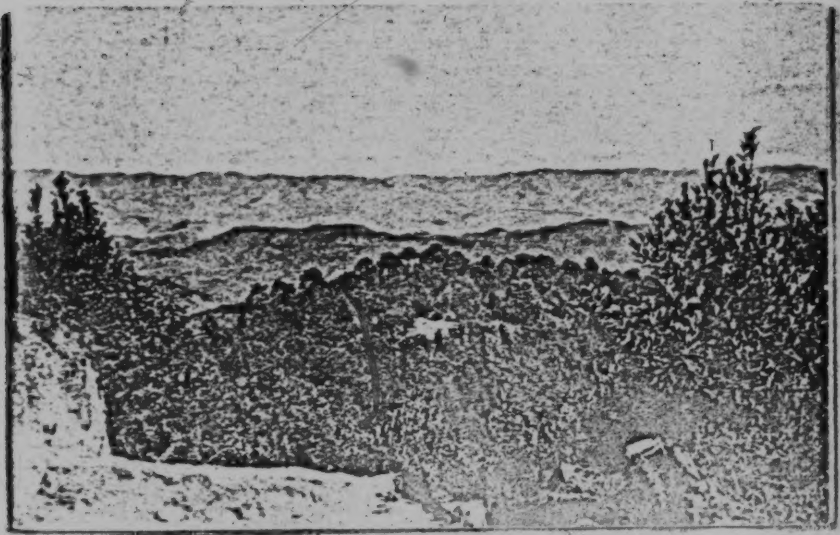


Wa Se village on eastern shore of Erh Hai lake.

On the Burma Road. The Mekong Salween divide.



[Face p.208]

501 the forked top of the mast, the slightly greasy cowhide 502 acting as a lubricant in the absence of pulleys. All ropes and sheets used on these boats are made of this material which is, of course, very strong and enduring. The larger boats have a cabin at the prow, which is raised well above the water line, and thus seems at a distance to be the poop, as in Chinese junks. On Erh Hai boats the necessity of shipping the heavy cumbersome rudder in shallow water makes it impossible to have the cabin at the poop. The whole boat can also be covered in rainy weather with curved mat roofs fitted on a bamboo frame, and is thus weatherproof, which makes boating by far the most comfortable way of travelling in the rainy season.

502 In a stiff breeze the Erh Hai boats can make very fast 132 passages, and sail fairly close to the wind, while when there is nothing but the slightest of airs it is still possible to sail them owing to the very large spread of the towering mat sail. On the other hand, they are admitted to be dangerous in the violent squally winds which sweep across the lake in winter. These winds off the Ts'ang Shan range are a peculiar feature of the winter climate of Ta Li, due to the conjunction of a very high mountain and the lake. They come at irregular intervals, without warning, and the direction of the wind is unpredictable. At one moment the air is still under a cloudless sky, at the next, with a roar like an express train, the squall sweeps down across the plain raising clouds of dust, and then is gone. A few minutes later another squall approaches, from the opposite direction. In such weather sailing is very dangerous, and the boatmen either hoist only a small part of the sail, or prefer to punt along the shallows.

502 The larger Erh Hai boats are usually handled by a crew of three or four, who are the owner and his family. Apart from hoisting the sail, which is heavy work requiring all hands,

502 their only labour is to steer, or in calms, to punt. They often prefer to travel at night because in summer there is more wind after sundown, and if the wind fails it is tiring to have to do the hard work of punting or rowing in the hot sun. As they work, or sit idly steering the slow-moving boat, they beguile the time by singing improvised words to the one tune which Min Chia peasants always sing to. Time is no object. A trip from Shier Yu, the port of Ta Li, to Wa Shih or Shang Kuan may take four hours or less with a favourable wind, or seventeen hours if there is no wind at all. As they carry a cooking stove and provision of rice they are not dependent on the villages for food, while fish can often be bought from the fishermen on the lake itself.

579 489 The length and slowness of all travel in Yunnan is in fact the explanation of that indifference to time and punctuality which disturbs the foreign visitor. When a journey must in any case take several days, one more or less cannot matter, and as long as the stage point is reached in time for supper, it does not matter when the traveller starts. No Yunnanese would think of starting on a journey unless he allowed for a possible week's delay, through bad weather or—formerly a paramount consideration—delay due to unsafe roads and banditry. When the roads were still infested with robbers it was not uncommon for all travellers to wait in the last town below some dangerous pass until the authorities agreed to provide an escort, or until there were sufficient wealthy travellers assembled to pay for one. My arrival in one such town, some ten years ago, was hailed with delight, since I already had the escort which the local authorities were unwilling to provide for nearly fifty or sixty other travellers and four caravans of forty mules. All these, the next day, got safe and free escort over the pass which was known to be the haunt of a large gang of deserters from the provincial army.

CHAPTER II

FOREIGN CONTACTS AND CHANGES

177 No picture of Min Chia society would be complete if all reference to alien influence other than Chinese were omitted. In earlier chapters the character and scope of the Chinese influence on society in its various aspects has been discussed, here it is intended to review the nature of Min Chia contacts with European and other foreigners and the changes which such contacts have caused.

Although it is in no sense unexplored, there is perhaps no country, except Tibet, which is as little known to Europeans as Western Yunnan. Until very recently the only means of access was a tedious journey of many days over rough roads infested with robbers. Since the war with Japan, and the realisation of the importance of the route to Burma, a growing number of Europeans have made the journey across Yunnan from K'un Ming to Burma, either on foot or as pioneer motorists. Apart from the resident missionaries these travellers are the only Europeans with whom the Min Chia have even a fleeting first-hand acquaintance. As many travellers either do not speak Chinese, or have only an imperfect understanding of the Yunnan dialect of Mandarin, the influence of the chance and brief contacts they may make with the people can be discounted.

797 The Min Chia, therefore, gets his ideas of the European and his culture from the resident missionary, and it is therefore important to describe the character and extent of missionary work in the Min Chia districts. There are Protestant missionaries at five centres in the Min Chia country, Ta Li, Erh Yuan, Shih Ku, Lan P'ing and Chien Ch'uan, places which are on the average fifty miles apart.

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The Catholics have a mission station at Ta Li with an outpost in one of the villages on the lake shore, and they also have a station at Niu Kai, two days' journey to the north of Ta Li, in Erh Yuan *hsien*. The total number of European missionaries of both religions in the Min Chia area is thus about twenty at the outside, including the wives of the Protestant missionaries, who are, of course, all missionaries themselves. Apart from these there are Protestant missions at Li Chiang and Hsiang Yun, just beyond the Min Chia country, but as these missionaries work among other peoples, their direct influence on the Min Chia is slight.

Quite recently one Protestant missionary and one of the Catholic Fathers have begun to study the Min Chia language, but until the most recent past no missionary of either religion spoke Min Chia, since in the cities where they are established most of the population is bilingual and can understand Chinese. In the country districts, where Chinese is imperfectly understood, or not at all, missionaries are accompanied by Min Chia convert evangelists who preach to the congregation in their native language. On the other hand the missionaries of the China Inland Mission (Protestant) who are established in Ta Li and Erh Yuan, are proficient and fluent Chinese scholars, speaking the dialect of Mandarin used in Yunnan, and easily understood in that language.

The Protestant missionary societies have a zoning agreement by which the territory of the missions is defined, and it is considered a breach of this agreement for one mission to intrude upon the field of another. It seems perhaps unfortunate that at the time this agreement was made, either by inadvertence or for other reasons, the Min Chia districts were divided between two societies, doctrinally distinct. The China Inland Mission, a federation which includes

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797 Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists, but has a strong Evangelical outlook, is the largest missionary society in China, and was the first Protestant body to enter the Yunnan field. The station at Ta Li, one of the first to be opened in the province, dates from the early eighties, and it was only much later that the other societies entered Yunnan, and were given the northern districts as their field. These districts include a large part of the Min Chia territory, and thus the stations at Shih Ku, Chien Ch'uan and Lan P'ing are assigned to the Pentecostal Mission, whose doctrines are in important respects unlike those taught by the China Inland Mission.

The agreement in any case does not apply to the Catholics, who conduct missions where they think fit without regard to whether the Protestants have already entered the region or not. The Seventh Day Adventists, who have large missions in China, also disregard the agreement, but they have no permanent mission station in Min Chia districts.

The Catholic Fathers, of the Société des Missions Etrangères, are French and Spanish, while the Protestant missionaries are Americans, English, Australians and Canadians.

This fact, the division of nationality between the Protestant and Catholic missionaries, has led the Min Chia into a very common and not unnatural error. It is the firm belief of all people in Ta Li, even the educated, that Catholicism is an entirely different religion from Protestantism, and that whereas the former is the religion of the French, the latter is the religion of the English and Americans. The fact is that the Chinese word for Christianity, "Chi Tu Chiao," is hardly ever used and is barely known to most Min Chia, who, in common with the Yunnanese of other races, always talk about "Ye Su

Chiao," "The Doctrine of Jesus," which means Protestantism, and "Tien Chu Chiao," the Doctrine of the Lord of Heaven, which is Catholicism. Very few Min Chia know that these two are variant forms of the general Christian religion. 797

The Min Chia are also under another mistaken impression, perhaps more hampering to missionary work than the first, namely that all Catholic missionaries are the paid agents of the French government, and that all Protestant missionaries are equally the servants of the English government. The fact that many Protestant missionaries are Americans does not shake this universal belief. This idea is not as foolish as it sounds, for the special position of Europeans in China, the system of Extraterritoriality by which no European subject or citizen of the Treaty Powers is subject to Chinese jurisdiction, not unnaturally seems to suggest that these people are the agents of the governments which take such an interest in them. To the rural Chinese or Min Chia it is inconceivable that a government should protect and privilege anyone who was not an official. It is too, equally strange to them that people should give up their lives to change the religion of distant strangers. They find it very hard to understand the motives for this conduct, and the easiest explanation is that the missionary is paid to do it.

The missionaries of both religions lead, in fact, very simple and austere lives, but it would be impossible for them to abandon all the standards of European comfort and hygiene to which they are accustomed, and in consequence, simply by taking some trouble to be reasonably comfortable and healthy, they have to live in a way which seems to most Min Chia very luxurious. Few of the wealthiest Min Chia have glass windows, or oil lamps of any power, or an easy chair, or fly-screened windows. The mission station 797 177

797 171 equipped with these simple necessities, seems therefore a wealthy and even prodigal establishment. Many missionary ladies do much of the housework themselves, but they usually have one servant to help in the cooking. Very few Min Chia, if any, have any servant except a more or less imbecile slave girl, and this standard of modest comfort thus seems extravagant to them. In this way, and quite unconsciously, the missions are setting a new standard of comfort and living conditions, which is having a slight but increasing influence on the habits of the wealthier Min Chia class, who are often better supplied with money than the missionaries themselves. This indirect influence on living conditions, of course, only affects the cities where mission stations are established, and only a small class of the richest residents in these cities. Nevertheless, as living exponents of the western manner of life and its modern comforts of which the educated class reads in current Chinese literature, the influence of the missionaries is considerable, if involuntary.

797 The direct influence of Christian teaching is less easy to assess, for the approach of the Catholic and Protestant is quite different. It is true that neither body expects rapid and flamboyant success ; both confess that the Min Chia are an unresponsive people, rooted in their own way of life and traditional, if vague, beliefs. The Catholic hopes to effect Christianisation by a slow and continued process of instruction, and sets less store on individual conversions. The Protestant, founding his practice on the Doctrine of the Elect, only expects a few conversions but expects that these, unrecognised members of the Elect, will at once respond to the Word of God when they are given the opportunity of hearing it. Consequently the Catholic missionaries are concerned with the continuous and close instruction of the group of people among whom they live,

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and particularly of the children, for whom they provide a large and well-attended school. As one of the Fathers said, " We think it takes three generations to make a Christian". 797

These methods are recognised to be slow, for Baptism is only accorded after a very long and thorough instruction, and in consequence the number of Catholics is much smaller than the number of those who attend Church, or Catholic School. There are, perhaps, one hundred baptised Catholics resident in Ta Li and the adjacent villages, but there are also a large number of Catholic children at the school, whose parents live in other places, and send the children to board at the Mission School. This school, which comprises an elementary and Middle School division, follows the curriculum of the National Schools in all respects except the addition of Catholic doctrine. Many of the teachers are laymen and some are not even Catholics. The object of the Catholic missions is to convert the people to Christianity with the least possible change in their culture and way of life, and this outlook is in many ways opposed to that of their Protestant competitors. 797 871

The Protestant missionaries spend a great part of their time preaching in the villages and countryside, endeavouring to bring some knowledge of the Gospel to everyone, in the hope that some will be interested and come for further instruction. They no longer concentrate on the people of Ta Li city or the immediate environs, for these are held to have had every opportunity of hearing and believing the Christian doctrine for many years past. If they have not responded, it is because they have not got it in them to respond, and it would be time wasted to preach to them. Since they are mainly concerned to spread the Gospel the Protestant missionaries do not keep a school. Since, also, they believe that not all humanity can be saved, and that the world as we know it must perish in the catastrophe of 797

797 Armageddon, they are not concerned with building a Christian community or nation, for they deny that any community is truly Christian. Thus the long-term methods of the Catholics make no appeal to them, for their approach is to the individual soul. On the other hand they require their converts to abstain from tobacco smoking, and alcohol, and discourage them from attending stage plays and similar entertainments. They thus require a Christian to change his manner of life entirely, and give up many of the characteristic customs of his native culture.

Like the Catholics, the Protestants also do not easily accord baptism, and as the convert has to shoulder some financial responsibility for the maintenance of the Church, and suffers some social disabilities for his new belief, there is little temptation to join the Church for unworthy motives. No doubt for this reason the number of professing Protestants does not exceed seventy in Ta Li and the adjacent country, and many of these are old women. It is, of course, possible that when the missionaries of both religions are proficient Min Chia speakers they will make more converts among the outlying villages where Chinese is only partly understood. The fact that the language is not written, and thus cannot be used for instruction in the schools or for translations of the Scriptures, has discouraged the missionaries from learning it.

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771 Ignoring, for the moment, theological explanations, it is of some interest for the ethnologist to consider why it is that the missions have produced so small an effect on the Min Chia and the Yunnanese Chinese, peoples who at first sight, from their attitude to their own religions, would seem to be ripe for conversion. The Min Chia, although traditionally attached to Ancestor Worship and the festivals of the gods, are very little interested in theology and abstract ideas. They are not disturbed by conflicting beliefs

and do not seem to have that craving for certainty and 777
authority in religion which marks the peoples of the West. 771
Like the Chinese, who by their proverb "Three Ways to one Goal", deny the exclusive validity of any one creed, the Min Chia are quite prepared to add another god to the pantheon, but not willing to recognise any one god as supreme and unique.

The Chinese attitude to religion has always stressed the ethical rather than the theological side, it is always more important to them that men should act rightly rather than believe the Truth. Consequently their approach to the teaching of Christianity is not by faith but by ethical judgment. The Catholics would have people believe in the dogmas and doctrines of the Church, but to the Min Chia and Chinese this is less important than the code of behaviour which these doctrines authorise. Here they find little that is new to them. Christians are monogamous, but so, for economic reasons, are the vast majority of the Yunnanese of all races. The existing code of morality is high and strict, and they do not find in Christian ethical teaching any call to a radical change in morality which would necessitate the abandonment of Ancestor Worship.

The Protestants require them to give up smoking, wine 777
drinking and seeing theatricals. These injunctions do not 183
make a wide appeal to ordinary men. Opium smoking is indeed generally condemned by the Chinese moralists themselves, and the government is endeavouring to suppress it, but tobacco seems to most Chinese, as to many Europeans, a harmless indulgence. Nor is drunkenness a social evil among the Min Chia or Chinese. Wine is never drunk except at a party, and then very rarely to excess. The Chinese stage is probably the least licentious, not to say the most moral, of any in the world, and most plays are definitely based on an ethical idea such as loyalty, conjugal

797 183 fidelity, or patriotism. The Min Chia therefore does not easily recognise these activities as immoral or inconsistent with the good life, and is apt to regard these prohibitions as rather mysterious taboos similar to the Moslem avoidance of pork. Unaware of the European social background which has led many Christians to condemn the stage and the public house, the Min Chia does not see any connection between these things and ethics.

If, then, the Catholic appeal to some extent fails because people are not called upon to give up enough, or rather to make what would seem to them intelligible changes in their way of life, the Protestant message seems to the Min Chia to demand strange and, as it were, irrelevant sacrifices. Neither mission has yet found a simple and compelling appeal in tune with the real needs and aspirations of Min Chia society. Yet these needs and aspirations exist, and among the educated younger generation there is a profound dissatisfaction with many things in the present order of society. A growing number of young people resent and resist the compulsory marriage of a couple wholly unknown to each other personally, and very few men of under middle age can now be found to defend the institution of concubinage. Young men are becoming aware of the poverty about them, and of the lack of modern conveniences which elsewhere are accepted as a matter of course. The consciousness of a defective economy and of social injustices naturally leads to disbelief in the values underlying all existing institutions, in fact to revolutionary sentiment.

178 797 It must be remembered that in its attitude to revolutionary opinions the Chinese Government is in a peculiar position. It claims to be itself a revolutionary government, the destroyer of the Manchu Empire and of the military juntas which succeeded the fallen Emperors. It has itself condemned in outspoken decrees many of the institutions

and customs of the past. At the same time the government 178
is anxious to regard the revolution as definitely over, at 797
least in matters of internal policy. It plans and hopes to execute reforms and a vast reconstruction of the economic life of the country, but it is silent upon questions of social change, and was, until the outbreak of the war with Japan, definitely fighting Communism, which in China meant in practice land reform without compensation to the landlords. Yet everyone really knows, and many privately admit, that land reform is essential if any change or economic progress is to be made, and everyone knows that even before the Japanese invasions impoverished the country, there was no possibility of landlords being compensated at anything approaching the market value of their land.

For the time being this unresolved problem can be shelved until the Japanese are driven out, and when that happens it will most likely be found that in the areas of guerilla warfare the problem has solved itself by the disappearance of the wealthy class and the actual occupation of the land by the guerilla peasants. In western Yunnan, which is never likely to be invaded, the problem will have to be solved by other means. Some realisation of this, a growing knowledge that they live in a world which must soon see vast changes, is permeating the literate Min Chia and spreading as a vague unrest through all classes of society. People begin to ask what will happen when the soldiers, or some of them, who have gone to the war, come back. More Yunnanese than at any previous time in history have now been taken out of the province and inured through war to scenes of violence and destruction.

Among those who become converted to Christianity 797
there are many who feel this sense of impending changes 178
and the need for them. Men who are of independent mind and observe what goes on, seek for some organisation which

797 will direct the inevitable changes into beneficial reforms,
178 and some find it in the Christian churches. Others, inspired by very similar feelings, but of a less religious turn of mind, go to the teaching of Communism or the more left wing interpretation of the doctrines of Sun Yat Sen, the founder of the Nationalist Party of China. Neither missionary nor party organiser is willing to recognise the essential identity of the psychological motive which impels convert and recruit, but to the observer outside these organisations it is often apparent.

797 Among some of the non-Chinese tribes of Yunnan the missionaries have had much success. The Li Su, and in some places the Miao, have been converted in large numbers, but so far no similar movement has touched the Min Chia. As a general rule it may be observed that the peoples least touched by Chinese culture are more easily converted to Christianity, and those who have more thoroughly adopted Chinese ways are the least susceptible to missionary enterprise. Thus, the Li Su are a primitive mountain folk who had never adopted Buddhism or the Chinese form of Ancestor Worship. It is, however, an open question how far these mass movements towards Christianity are really religious rather than vaguely political. It must be remembered that the more primitive peoples still retain a considerable hostility to the Chinese government and settlers, and that the missionary is, mistakenly, but universally, looked upon as the representative of a foreign power. The idea that by becoming Christians they would cease to be under Chinese control has undoubtedly existed among the primitive tribes and contributed in some degree to the rapid conversion of many of the Li Su.

The Min Chia are untouched by this consideration because they do not feel themselves to be an oppressed people and have no desire to distinguish themselves from the Chinese

among whom they live. Their aspirations are all towards 797
acquiring the advantages open to an educated Chinese, and
which are not denied to a Min Chia who has the same
standard of education. Consequently no political advantage
is thought to accrue from becoming a Christian, and some
social disabilities undoubtedly do exist. Missionaries fre- 797
quently refer to the persecution which converts have to 798
undergo, and the expression is strictly correct if it is
understood as a covert enmity and family disapproval.
There is no organised or systematic persecution by the
authorities, who, indeed, are bound in law to toleration.
Nor is there a ferocious anti-Christian sentiment among the
people such as makes any conversion of a Moslem to
Christianity almost a sentence of death in many parts of the
world.

Persecution in Yunnan means cold looks and unfriendly remarks ; family pressure upon the convert ; perhaps the loss of a position with a house of business or a school. It is in no sense a general hostility felt and expressed by all the community. Nevertheless, there is enough ill-will to prevent many faint-hearted people from professing what they would like to believe, and the embarrassing relationship with an unconverted family restrains others. The Christian convert must withdraw himself from the worship of ancestors, and as has been shown in earlier chapters this means that he must cut himself off from the intimate ceremonies and holidays of the home. The Min Chia home is also the temple of ancestral worship, and each member of the family has a part to play in the rites. It would be easy for the convert to cease to frequent Buddhist shrines or the temples of other gods, but he cannot avoid the ceremonies of Ancestor Worship which take place every day in his own home.

A junior member of the family may find this atmosphere

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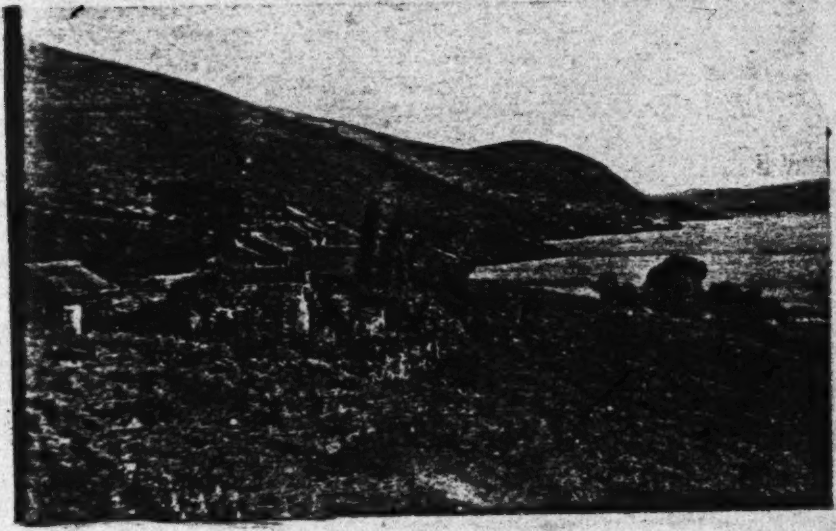
The gorge of the Mekong.

The eastern shore of Erh Hai lake.



[Face p. 222]

797 798 so difficult that he will prefer to emigrate to some other place where he will not be under family pressure, but when the head of the family is converted it often leads to a real breach, since other members refuse to permit the worship of the ancestors to cease, and the only solution is to divide the home. Perhaps for this reason conversions are usually confined to members of less importance, students far from home, old women whose rôle in the family is of minor importance, or young girls who will in any case soon marry into another family. Much pressure is exerted on young women who become converts as it is felt that their attitude may be displeasing to the family into which they are betrothed, while they themselves are often unwilling to marry non-Christians. These family difficulties account for a large part of such hostility as is generally felt to Christianity, for older people often fear that such complications will disturb the arrangements they have made.

797 The influence of missionaries resident in the country is thus perhaps more indirect than direct. The Christian community is small, and in spite of the fact that several of the highest Chinese National leaders are Christians, there is in Yunnan no general movement towards the western religion.[1] As members of those western nations who are most strongly influencing the Chinese culture, the missionaries by their way of life as much or more than by their teachings are exerting an increasing influence on the standard of living adopted by the wealthier class. This influence is the more important as they are the only foreigners of any race who come in contact with the Min Chia people. Those members of the non-Chinese races

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[1] The Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, General Feng Yu-hsiang, Mr. Sun Fo, Mr. T. V. Soong, Madame H. H. Kung, wife of the Finance Minister and sister of Mesdames Chiang and Sun Yat-sen, and others, all Protestants.

797 who visit the Min Chia country, Tibetan horse and tea dealers, Li Su and Miao villagers, are all primitive people whose culture is inferior to that of the Min Chia themselves.

177 Although Burma is not far away as the crow flies, about two hundred and fifty miles at most, there is only the slightest contact between the two countries. Many Min Chia it is true do go to Burma to work in the winter season, but they congregate in the jade mines of the north where they see hardly any Burmese, and associate only with their fellow Yunnanese workers. The Burmese do not travel. All trade between the two countries is in the hands of Yunnanese, largely Moslem muleteers and merchants. The Indian merchants and traders who are so conspicuous in Burma itself never cross the frontier into Yunnan, and none are ever seen as far east as Ta Li. To most Yunnanese and Min Chia, Burma is " Ying Kuo," that is to say "England," and the belief is general among the less educated that it is the home of the English themselves, who they regard as a kind of ruling caste of Burmese.

Burma thus plays little part in the Min Chia conception of the outside world, and the influence of western culture is spread more through Chinese adaptations of our institutions and inventions than by direct contact with the neighbouring countries under English and French rule. The Chinese newspapers and periodicals filtering through weeks late into the towns of western Yunnan bring news of strange and far-off places with queer names ; Ch'e K'e (Czechoslovakia) and P'o Lan (Poland) ; the activities of a certain Hsi Te La (Hitler), and their bearing on the war with Japan. On a high pass between the Yang Tze and the Mekong, a Min Chia merchant on his way up into Tibet explained to me that England could not help China against Japan because if we brought our fleet to the eastern

177 seas Italy and Germany would attack us in the west. One cannot ask for more knowledge of the outer world than that.

177 489 Against these factors making for change one must set the massive forces of inertia which will limit and modify any influence from outside. First of these is the difficulty and inaccessibility of the country. There is the road to Burma and K'un Ming ; one road, long, expensive and difficult, and this is the only direct link with the outer world. The new Burma-Yunnan railway, which will be completed in a few years' time, will not pass within fifty miles of Min Chia country. These modern means of communication in any case only affect the lives of a handful of the rich, being mainly built for national rather than provincial purposes. The mass of the Min Chia will never ride in a bus to K'un Ming or Burma, if only because they could never afford to do so. Yunnan, being very mountainous, is not a country which can be rapidly opened up by the introduction of motor transport, as on the plains of India and north China. The existing routes are useless for any wheeled vehicle and the making of motor roads is a most elaborate and difficult engineering feat. Except for the road to Burma, which is a national war measure, there are no routes through Yunnan carrying a sufficient volume of trade to justify these expensive public works, consequently it is unlikely that any other large-scale motor roads will be built in western Yunnan for several years.

The only reason for which it would be worth while to open up western Yunnan by such roads would be if a large tourist traffic existed, such as pays for the mountain roads of Switzerland or California. Tourists indeed would find Yunnan a paradise if these communications existed, but it is extremely unlikely that such a traffic will come into being for at least fifty years more. Yunnan is very far from such

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177 radical political innovations. Confucius said, " The people are grass and the ruler the wind, as the wind blows, so the grass bends". This statement is still entirely true of the Chinese people, with one qualification. The Japanese have already found out that the wind must be a local wind and not a gale from the east.

large centres of wealth as exist in eastern Asia. It is more 177
than a week's journey from Shanghai by steamer and train. 489
The distance from Calcutta is about the same, and the lesser centres such as Rangoon or Singapore are all unable to support a large tourist traffic.

Western Yunnan is therefore likely to remain almost an 177
unknown and rarely visited land, even by the Chinese from other provinces. At the present time the refugees from occupied or devastated China have only reached western Yunnan in small numbers, and were peace to be restored, few of them would stay in a country where very little money can be earned. This factor, the poverty of the country, is the other main obstacle to the forces of change. Until western Yunnan can find a product which can be exported cheaply and fetch a good price in the world market—a substitute for opium in fact—the people must remain poor. While communications remain bad such a product is hard to find, but communications cannot be much improved until the country can afford to pay the great expenses necessary. From this vicious circle there is no easy escape.

The natural conservatism of the common people is a factor against change which can easily be overrated. The events of the last twenty-five years have disproved the old belief that the Chinese were a conservative race. Their government until the fall of the Manchus was intensely opposed to any change, and the people followed its lead ; under the republican government, which requires changes, the people, equally, have obeyed the orders given by their rulers. The rapid disappearance of such customs as foot binding, the total disappearance of the queue, prove how little the Chinese are attached to old social customs, while the complete absence of royalist feeling or any interest in the old monarchy shows how easily they will submit to

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MIN CHIA GRAMMAR

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NOUNS

All nouns are preceded or followed by a classifier, of which there are more than fifty, but of which only twelve follow a general rule. With one exception the classifiers follow the noun, and also follow any numeral adjective qualifying the noun.

Examples : Mer, a horse, classifier, a der.
Mer der = a horse.
Mer a der = one horse.
Mer go der = two horses.

There are two forms of the plural.

(1) The limited plural "wa" used of a restricted number of things,
E.G. Your horses = Mer wa der lo lao.

(2) The indefinite plural Ya used of general categories.
E.G. Horses = Mer ya.

When ya is used the classifier is omitted.

There are no gender or case forms for nouns.

CLASSIFIERS

The following twelve classifiers obey a general rule.

(1) A, precedes noun, for all units of measurement, both time and space. E.G. A chuoe = an inch. A bai ger = a night.

(2) A ao, follows noun. For all fruits. A peach = Da a ao. There are a number of other nouns taking a ao.

(3) A der, follows noun, applies to all non-human living creatures and also ghosts and bandits. E.G. A cat = A Mi a der.

(4) A dor, follows noun. Applies to flowers. E.G. Mai guei a dor, a rose.

(5) A dsur, follows noun. Applies to great lengths, such as rivers, roads. E.G. Gur a dsur = a river.

(6) A ga and a gua, follow noun, apply to short lengths, sticks, etc. E.G. Po a ga = a mast. Wa a gua = a beam.

(7) A ger, follows noun. Applies to enclosed spaces, buildings, cupboards. Ta wu a ger = a room. Tsur a ger = a gun.

(8) A jia, follows noun, applies to instruments, machines, etc. Dso ji ji a jia = a plough. Dser a jia = a clock.

(9) A lai, follows noun, applies to miscellaneous objects.

(10) A Ni, follows noun, applies to human beings and gods, except thieves. So yi ni = a merchant. Nuer ni = a woman.

(11) A niu, follows noun, applies to long flexible objects, ropes, etc. E.G. Dso a niu = gut. Tai so a niu = a chain.

(12) A pu, follows noun, for limbs of the body. Ser a pu = an arm. Go a pu = a leg.

(13) A dso, follows noun, applied to trees. In other cases is irregular.

The following classifiers follow no rule and are only found with the nouns mentioned with them below.

A ba	Jiao i = a chair. Sai = a fan. Sa = umbrella. Ga gu = water-chestnut. Dsa = bill. So so = funeral.
A bai	Chieh = coin. Gai = bowl. Yeh guor = pipe. Ba = tub. Luai dser = wheel.
A ber	Chi da = scissors.
A bi	Hor pao = fire cracker.
A biu	Tsao ya dser = sunflower.
A chua	Ser = book. Shao suer = story.
A dai	Ber tso = cabbage.
A dao	So gu = ring.
A di	Gua der = bone.
A do	Shao mao = hat. Lu gu = maize plant.
A dsa	Ger = horn. Do = lamp.
A dser	Dser = city. I da = knife. Ma ba dao = swordstick. Dso dser = branch.
A dso	Piao = banknote. Dso = bed. Gur = bow. Ber = card. Hor = flower. Do ma = hair. Dsai zo zur dser = Carpet. So tiao = receipt. Wa = net. Tser = onion. Dser = paper. Dser dser = table. So ur = willow.
A duai	Mo = dream.
A du	Tsao hu = window. Ver = cloud.
A gao	Gao = lake. Gao = song. Ver = cloud.
A fa	Hao = house.
A jer	Gu = drum. Sai = temple.
A ji	Ngai = shoe. Chu ger = straw sandal.
A jieh	Hai ji = field.
A juee	Wu = beard. Wei = Buddhist image. Ser = god.
A jueh	Bi = bank, edge.
A kao	Da bi = carrying pole. Mo = grave. Da duai = mill.
A ka	Jiu = sedan chair.
A ker	A = saddle.
A ko	Ma gua = robe. Jier = well.
A kuai	Dsa sai = cocoon. Sai = egg. Sur = hill, mountain. So guai dser = elbow. Ji fer = place. Shua = garden.

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A mi	Sua bai = abacus. Lao = gong. Ger = mirror. Jia shi hu = courtyard.
A mu	Ji = arrow.
A pi	Tiao gur = spoon. Wer = tile. Mo = wheatcake.
A ser	Dser = chopsticks.
A sai	Dsur = hoe. Bi = raincloak. Mai = gate, door.
A so	Gu = bridge.
A su	Yeh = ship, boat.
A ter	Chieh dser = pincers.
A tiao	Ger = meat.
A ta	Dao so dser do mo = thumb. So dser = finger.
A tieh	Ber = ancestral tablet.
A tso	Ju wai = face.
A yao	Mi bo = fence. Sai = leaf. Shier = mat. Tso ber = dressed stone. Ser ler = wood, a piece.
A yo	Ser ver = affair. Ber = disease. Gua yo = trousers.
A yu	Yu = village.
A wai	Der = cave.

VERBS

General rule of word order is Subject-Verb-Object.
Tenses are indicated by the addition of suffixes or time adverbs.
Present tense. He goes = Bao bai
Past tense. He has gone = Bao bai hu lao

Other shades of past meaning are indicated by the use of adverbs such as do mo = formerly and 'i jiu' = already

He had gone = Bao i jiu bai hu lao

Future tense. He will go = Bao niu bai (niu = want, wish)

Conditional. Is indicated by prefixing the present or future tense structure by 'huer' = if or 'ku pa' = perhaps.

If he goes = huer bao bai

He would go = Ku pa bao bai

This can also mean 'perhaps he would go' the sense being determined by context.

Passive. Is indicated by two particles, dsor and do which follow the subject and terminate the phrase respectively.

He was struck by a stone = Bao dsor tso kuai ger der do

'Do' can be ommitted and lao substituted.

They were burnt to death = Ba dsor shu shia lao

193 **Negative.** Is formed with the use of Biao = no. Bo and Mu = not and Dor = cannot.

It is not mine = Ngao lao *biao*
I do not know = Ngao zo *bo* do
(Here bo = not, is inserted between zo do = to know.)
I had not seen him before = Ngao do mo a do bao mu
(Mu always terminates the phrase.)
He cannot arrive = Bao pia dor
I cannot get up = Ngao bai ku dor
Can be said but not done = Shua chi der dser chi dor (Proverb)

Der = can, the positive antitheses of dor is used in the same way.

He can manage = Bao ba der

Interrogative. The ordinary form is ni mu.

Can you come ? = Lao bai dso ni mu ?
Have (you) any as big as this = Dso lo lai dao lao ni mu ?
Will (you) sell ? = Gur ni mu ?
Niu der ni niu dor ? Used in the same way as ni mu.
Have you leased a house ? = Lao kao hao niu der ni niu dor ?
Will this do ? = Lo lai niu der ni niu dor ?

Questions can be expressed by stating both alternatives with bo = not or ni = or in between.

Is it enough ? = Lu *bo* lu ?
Will you dye it red or black ? = Niu zai huor lao *ni* her lao ?

When interrogative adverbs and adjectives are employed no other form is used.

When did he come ? = Bao *ha ta* bai dso hu la ?
What are you doing ? = Lao dser *ha lai* ?
How many are there ? = Dso *ji* lai ?
Who is that ? = Du ni dso ha ni ?
How much money have you = Lao dso ji shio chien

Exceptions. To rain = O ver shi (O = to fall of rain, etc.) or Ver shi o.

The wind blows = Bi ser po

Yu, to come; only used in conjunction with prepositions.

To come back = Da yu
To come down = To yu
To come through = Tur yu
To come downstairs = Gai to lo yu

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ADJECTIVES

This=Lo, these = lo dier

That= Ber, du, those = Ber dier, du dier

Rule. Follow noun but precede classifier.

This thing = Hu nger lo lai
That mountain = Sur du (ber) kuai
These horses are faster than those= Mer lo dier bi du dier nger jiu
Numerals precede classifier:
These two horses = Mer lo go der
(When a numeral is used the plural form ' dier ' is omitted.)

Adjectives either precede or follow noun and classifier ; the only rule is euphony.

These two fast horses= Mer *lo* go der *nger jiu*
A high mountain = Sur a kuai *go* or *Go* sur a kuai
A small matter = *Sai* ser ver a yo
A far off place = Ji fer kuai *duai*
A fat goose = O a der *go*
A fat pig = *Go* dai a der
A hungry dog = Kwa a der ji ka
To day it is cold = Ger ni hai ji *gur*

PRONOUNS

The personal pronouns are declined in four cases. No other pronouns or nouns have these modifications.

Nominative and Accusative	*Genitive*	*Dative*	*Ablative*
I = Ngao	Ngao lao	Ngo lao	Ngo mo
Thou = Lao	Lo lao	Lo lao	Lo mo
He = Bao	Bo lao	Bo lao	Bo mo
We = Nia	Nia lao	Nia lao	Nia mo
You = La	La lao	La lao	La mo
They = Ba	Ba lao	Ba lao	Ba mo

EXAMPLES:

Nominative and Accusative. I am going to find him = *Ngao* bai yi *bao*

Genitive. Your money = La lao chieh.

Exception. Ngao mao = my mother. Relatives do not take the genitive case.

193 Dative. Yesterday I said to him = Ngao dser sai ni da *bo lao* shua
He cursed me = Bao ur *ngo lao*

Ablative. He wants money from me = Bao lai *ngo* mo chieh
Ru = to call takes the ablative
Call him (to come) = ru *bo* mo bai dso
Ablative is also used with Jier = to borrow
I borrowed money from you (thee) = Ngao jier lo mo chieh

Relative pronouns. Who = Ha ni, A la ni
Whose = Ha ni lao
What = Ha lai, ha ya
Which = A la lai

E.G. Who are you = Lao dso *ha ni* ?
Whose is this ? = Lo lai dso *ha ni* lao ?
What house is this = Lo lai dso *ha ya* (*ha lai*) hao
Which do you want ? = Lao niu *a la lai* ?

PREPOSITIONS

Back = Da (only used with verb to come ' yu ' to mean return)
Bai da yu = to come back

Behind = Ur dao bai
The sun is behind the mountain = Nieh pi dso sur *ur dao bai*
Behind the wall = O ur dao bai
They are coming behind = Ba ur dao bai bai dso

In front, before = Do Mo. After = Bo ru (used in time sense only.)
They are in front = Ba do mo bai
After the rain = Ver shi o *bo ru*
Some years later = Wa shua *bo ru*

Ru = next. Only used in time and age contexts
Next day = Ru ni
Next year = Ru shua
He is next (in age) = Bao dso ru

Ago = Do (' Up ' i.e. the stream of time)
Some years ago = Do wa shua
Last month = Do wa
The year before last = Do shua

Under = Er

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Underneath = Er bao Above (onto) = Do bao
Hsia Kuan = Er Guer Shang Kuan = Do Guer
Underneath the stone = Tso kuai er bao
Under the trees = Dso ya er bao
Under water (exception) = Shuee hu
The bird is flying over the house = Dso der ler hao *de bao*
The clouds are above the hill = Ver ya dao sur *do bao*
Climb onto a rock = Gai dso tso kuai do bao

Down = to Up = dso
Coming down the mountain = Sur lao *to* yu
Go down to Hsia Kuan = Bai *to* Er Guer
Down stream = Ger *to* (Lit : flow down)
Up stream = Ger *dso*
To climb up stairs = Gai *dso* lo ti

On = lao Off = to (Same as down.)
On the mountain = Sur lao
On the table = Dser dser lao

To, until, till = Pia From = Yo
He lived to be eighty = Bao her pia bia dser shua
Wait till I return = Do pia ngao bai da yu
It is thirty li to Hsia Kuan = Pia Er Guer dso sa dser lai
He comes from the lake = Bao yo gao bai dso

At = dso In = hu, ku With = da Out = wa
He is at Ta Li = Bao dso Dai Lai
He is at home = Bao dso hao der
In the water = Shuee hu
In the cupboard = Gur ger hu
In the town = Dser ku
In Yunnan = Yueh La ku
In the fields = Hai ya ku

Rule. Hu, is used for confined spaces and water;
Ku, is used for indefinite unenclosed spaces.
Out of town = Dser wa
Other provinces = Wa so
Inside and outside = Ker bao and wa bao
In the house = Hao ker bao
It is cold out = Wa bao gur
Put it inside = Lai ker bao

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60 = Fer dser
61 = Lu yi
62 = Lu er
63 = Lu sa
64 = Lu ssu
65 = Lu wu
66 = Lu lu
67 = Lu chi
68 = Lu ba
69 = Lu jiu

70 = Tser dser or Chi ser
71 Chi yi
72 = Chi er
73 = Chi sa
74 = Chi ssu
75 = Chi wu
76 = Chi lu
77 = Chi chi
78 = Chi ba
79 = Chi jiu

80 = Bia dser
81 = Ba yi
82 = Ba er
83 = Ba sa
84 = Ba ssu
85 = Ba wu
86 = Ba lu
87 = Ba chi
88 = Ba ba
89 = Ba jiu

90 = Jiu dser
91 = Jiu yi
92 = Jiu er
93 = Jiu sa
94 = Jiu ssu
95 = Jiu wu
96 = Jiu lu
97 = Jiu chi
98 = Jiu ba
99 = Jiu jiu

100 = A Ber
1,000 = A Chi
10,000 = A Ngur

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NUMERALS

802 The Min Chia numerals are corrupt, Chinese forms being mixed with the Min Chia. From One to Thirty, Min Chia words are used, but from Thirty to Thirty-nine and from Fifty to a Hundred, corrupt Chinese forms are used, with the exceptions of Forty to Forty-nine, and the numbers Fifty, Sixty, Seventy, Eighty and Ninety. Over One Hundred, corrupt Chinese is used except for the numbers One Thousand and Ten Thousand.

One = Yi
Two = Go
Three = Sa
Four = Shi
Five = Ngur
Six = Fer
Seven = Chi
Eight = Bia
Nine = Jiu
Ten = Dser

Eleven = Dser Yi
Twelve = Dser lai
Thirteen = Dser sa
Fourteen = Dser shi
Fifteen = Dser ngur
Sixteen = Dser fer
Seventeen = Dser Chi
Eighteen = Dser bia
Nineteen = Dser jiu
Twenty = Lai

Twenty-one = Lai yi
Twenty-two = Lai lai
Twenty-three = Lai sa
Twenty-four = Lai shi
Twenty-five = Lai Ngur
Twenty-six = Lai fer
Twenty-seven = Lai chi
Twenty-eight = Lai bia
Twenty-nine = Lai jiu
Thirty = Sa dser

Thirty-one = Sa yi
Thirty-two = Sa er
Thirty-three = Sa sa
Thirty-four = Sa ssu
Thirty-five = Sa wu
Thirty-six = Sa lu
Thirty-seven = Sa chi
Thirty-eight = Sa ba
Thirty-nine = Sa jiu

40 = Shi
41 = Shi yi
42 = Shi lai
43 = Shi sa
44 = Shi shi
45 = Shi ngur
46 = Shi fer
47 = Shi chi
48 = Shi bia
49 = Shi jiu

50 = Ngur dser
51 = Wu yi
52 = Wu er
53 = Wu sa
54 = Wu ssu
55 = Wu wu
56 = Wu lu
57 = Wu chi
58 = Wu ba
59 = Wu jiu

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MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

[p.239] [p.240 is blank]

ENGLISH—MIN CHIA

A

A, one piece (classifier)	Lai	
Abacus, an	Sua bai (a mi) Chinese Loan Word	
Ability	Bo ser	C L W
Able, to be	Hueh	C L W
Above (lit. ' top side ').	Do ba	
Abroad (foreign)	Wei guer	C L W
Accept	Jia	
Accustomed to	Shi gua	C L W
Acre (Chinese *mu*)	(a) Mu	C L W
Acrobatics	Shua ba shi	C L W
Add	Jia	C L W
Adopt (of children)	Dsao tu daer	C L W
Adopted son	Tu daer (ni)	C L W
Adultery	Bu dso da	C L W
Advantage	Yo yi	
Affair, matter	Ser ver (a yo)	
After (lit. ' that next ')	Bo ru	
Afternoon (lit. ' Lower half day ')	Er ba ni	
Afterwards	Do di	
Again	La dsai	C L W
Aggravate	Ji shia	C L W
Aim, to	Miao dsuai	
Air	Chi	C L W
All	Ni, daer	
Allow	Dsuai	(Cf. Chin. Chun.)
Alone	Du	C L W
Already	I Jiu	C L W
Also	Ni	
Although	Sueh za	C L W
Amber	Hu per	C L W
Ancestor	Do bao (ni)	
Ancestor (original)	Ber Dser	
Ancestral Tablet	Ber (a tieh)	
And	Bier	
Anger	Chi	C L W
Animal, domestic (lit. 'cow horse')	Ngur mer (a der)	

192 Animal, wild	Yer ver (a der)	
Ant	Bi ber (a der)	
Anywhere	A la	
Apple	Piu guor (a ao)	C L W
Apprentice (' learn trade one ')	Ur so yi ni	
Apricot	Er (a ao)	
Arrive (see ' to ')	Pia	
Arrow	Ji (a mu)	
Arm	Ser (a pu)	
Artichoke	Bao bao tsai (a ao)	C L W
As	Bi	
As far as	Wei dser	
Ask	Bier	
At	Dso, Hu	
At least	Zo shio	
Aunt, paternal	A Nia (ni)	
Aunt, maternal	Gu ma (ni)	
Aunt, paternal uncle's wife	Da Mao (ni)	
Aunt, maternal uncle's wife	Jiu Mu (ni)	
Autumn	Chu	
Avoid	Bi	C L W
Axe	Bo (a lai)	
Azalea	Yu sa hu (a dor)	

B

Back (preposition)	Da yu, Da dser	
Back, the	Dao go shi	
Back, to carry on the	Ver	
Back of hand	So da bai	
Bad	Hai, Bo Chio	
Bake	Ko	
Ball	Cho (a ao)	
Bamboo	Dsur (a gua)	
Bandercoot (lit. ' bamboo rat ')	Dsur ser (a der)	
Bandit	Fai (a der)	C L W
Bank (of stream)	Bi (a jueh)	
Banknote	Piao (a dso)	C L W
Barefoot	Tser go ju shi	
Bark, to	Bia	
Barley (lit. ' Big wheat ')	Dao mo (a ao)	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

Basket, hand	Ti lao (a lai)	
Basket, back	Do (a lai)	
Bat (animal)	Bier fer (a der)	
Be, to	Dso	
Bead	Vur do (a ao)	
Beam	Wa (a gua)	
Bean	Do (a ao)	CLW
Beancurd	Do fer	CLW
Bear a	Shiu (a der)	CLW
Beard	Wu (a juee)	
Beautiful (lit. ' good to see ')	A hu	
Become	Da	
Bed	Dso (a dso) pu (a pu)	
Bedding	Lo bao	
Bee	Fer (a der)	
Before	Do mo	
Beg	Tù	
Beggar	Tù her ser ni	
Begin	Ker	CLW
Behind (preposition)	Ur dao bai	
Believe	Shiu	
Bench	Ba do (a der)	CLW
Big	Dao	
Bill	Dsa (a ba)	CLW
Bird	Dso (a der)	
Birth	Her	
Birthday	Ji her ni, So ser	
Bit (piece)	(a) Di	
Bite	Nga	
Bitter	Ku	CLW
Black	Her, Tser	
Blame	Guai	CLW
Blind	Der	
Blister	Pu	
Blockup	Dsa	
Blood	Shua	
Blow (of wind)	Po	
Blue	La	CLW
Blunt (lit. ' not sharp ')	Bo Yi	
Boat	Yeh (a su)	

THE TOWER OF FIVE GLORIES

192 Body, the	Tser Ko	
Boil, to	Dser	
Boiling water	Hua Shuee	
Bomb	Dsa da (a ao)	
Bone	Gua der (a di)	
Book	Ser (a chua)	
Borrow	Jier	C L W
Bottle	Bier (a lai)	
Boundary	Gai	C L W
Bow, a (and arrow)	Gur (a dso)	
Bowl	Gai (a bai)	
Box	Shia dser (a ao)	C L W
Box, small	Hao dser (a lai)	
Boy	Ser dser ler (ni)	
Branch (lit. ' tree son ')	Dso dser (a dser)	
Brass (lit. ' yellow copper ')	Ngo ger	
Brave	Yu	
Brazier	Hor lo dsao (a lai)	
Bread	Ma ter	C L W
Break	La	
Breakfast	Tsa	
Breath	Chi	C L W
Brick	Jueh (a ao)	
Bright	Mer	
Bridge	Gu (a so)	
Bring	Lai	
Broad	Kua	C L W
Broom	Juai lai, Jueh (a ger)	
Brother, elder	Gao (ni)	
Brother, younger	Tai (ni)	
Brother-in-law (E. sister's H.)	Ji fer (ni)	
Brother-in-law (Y. sister's H.)	Mai Shi (ni)	
Brother-in-law (husband's B.)	Tai Po (ni)	
Brother-in-law (wife's B.)	Ju Yer (ni)	
Brush	Sua dser (a lai)	C L W
Brush-pen	Fer (a gua)	
Bucket	Ter (a lai)	
Bud	Huor go lu (a dor)	
Buddha, image of	Wei (a juee)	
Buddha's hand (fruit)	Fer so ga (a so)	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

Buddhist monk	Der bao (ni)	
Buffalo (water)	Shue ngur (a der)	
Bug	Dser shieh (a der)	
Bullet	Tsur dser (a ao)	
Bump into, meet	Po	
Bundle (of thread)	Hao	
Burn	Shu	
Burst out (of leaves)	Fer ku yu	
Bury	Mai	C L W
Bushel	(a) Do	C L W
Busy	Ma, Wai nieh	C L W
But	Da ser	C L W
Butcher	Sao ngur ni	
Butcher (pig)	Shia dai ni	
Butterfly	Hu dier (a der)	C L W
Buttocks	Ker ver	
Button	Guei (a ao)	
Button up	Guei ku	
Buy	Mer	

C

Cabbage	Ber tso (a dai)	
Cake	Biu dser (a lai)	C L W
Cake, wheat	Mo pi (a pi)	
Calamity	Hor	C L W
Calendar (solar)	Ya Ni	C L W
Calendar (lunar)	Yu Ni	C L W
Calf (of leg)	Wu ao	
Call	Rur	
Camelia	Dsao Hor (a dor)	C L W
Can (verb)	Kao I, Der, Lo	
Candle	La dser (a ga)	C L W
Cannot	Dor	
Cane	Dser (a gua)	
Capital, provincial	So tso	
Captain (of ship)	Yeh dso (ni)	
Card	Ber (a dso)	
Careful	Sai shi	C L W
Carpenter	Ngur jiu (ni)	
Carpet	Dsai zo zur dser (a dso)	

192 Carry	Da	
Carve	Ker, Diao	C L W
Cash (change)	Shier chieh	
Cash (copper coin)	Ger chieh	
Cat	A mi (a der)	
Catch	Diu	
Caterpillar (hairy kind)	Bi Shu (a der)	
Catty	(a) Jier	C L W
Cauliflower	Tsai Hua (a dor)	C L W
Cave	Der (a wai)	
Centipede	Wu gu (a der)	
Ceremony, Buddhist (burn incense)	Shu chier	
Certain	Du	
Chain (lit. ' iron rope ')	Tai so (a niu)	
Chair	Jiao I (a ba)	
Change	Gai bieh, Bi	C L W
Charcoal	Ta	C L W
Cheap	Pi yi, Shia yu	C L W
Cheat	Ko	
Cheese (two kinds)	Niu sai, Zer biu	
Chestnut	Chi shi (a ao)	
Chicken	Gai (a der)	
Chicken pox	Tur do	
Chinese literature	Ha ver	
Chisel	Dso (a lai)	
Choose	Shuai, tser	
Chop, to	Dso	
Chopsticks, a pair	Dser (a ser)	
City	Dser (a dser)	
City wall	Dser o	
Clan (joint family)	Dsu	C L W
Clan temple	Jia tser (a jier)	
Clean	Ga jiu	C L W
Clever	Tsu miu	C L W
Climb	Gai	
Clock	Dser (a jia)	
Cloth (cotton)	Piao	C L W
Clothes	I ko, plural I ya ko	
Cloud	Ver (a du, a gao)	
Coarse	Tsu	C L W

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

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Cockcrow	Gai mer	
Cocoon (silk)	Dsa sai (a kuai)	
Coffin	Nga, Ni tso (a ao)	
Coin	Chieh (a bai)	
Cold	Gur	
Cold in head	Sao Fer	
Colour	Yeh ser	C L W
Coloured	Tsai	
Come	Bai dso	
Coming or going	bai dso bai dser	
Commandeer	Fer	
Compare	Bi	C L W
Comparative, indicator of	Yuer	C L W
Complete	Dser	
Concern, to	Shia ser	
Concubine	Sai yao (ni)	
Consequence	Gua shi	C L W
Constantly	Dso	
Control, to	Gua	C L W
Convenient	Fa bieh	C L W
Converse	Ga shua	
Cook, a	Dser yu ni	
Copper	Ger	
Cormorant	Gao (a der)	
Corner	(a) Gur	
Cost	Ger	
Cotton	Hao mi	
Count	So	
Country	Shio hur	
Courtyard	Jia shi hu (a mi)	
Cousin (P P B E)	A gao (ni)	
Cousin (P P B Y)	A Tai (ni)	
Cousin (P P G E)	Da di nuer (ni)	
Cousin (P P G Y)	A yeh nuer (ni)	
Cousin (maternal boy)	Lao Biao (ni)	
Cousin (maternal girl elder)	Biao jieh (ni)	
Cousin (maternal girl younger)	Biao mai (ni)	
Cousin (paternal cross, boy)	Lao Biao (ni)	
Cousin (paternal cross, girl E.)	Biao jieh (ni)	
Cousin (paternal cross, girl Y.)	Biao mai (ni)	

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Cover, to	Mo	
Crab, a	Pa hai (a der)	
Craftsman	Jiu (ni)	
Cracker	Hor pao (a bi)	C L W
Crane, a (bird)	Bu ser (a der)	
Create	Tsao	
Credit	Jieh	
Crime	Juee	C L W
Crooked	Wur	
Crops	Dsua Jia	C L W
Crossbow, a	Da La (a jia)	
Cross over	Guer	C L W
Crow	Hur ngur (a der)	
Cry	Ku	C L W
Cudgel	Gua (a gua)	
Cup	Dser (a bai)	
Cupboard	Gur (a ger)	
Curse	Ur	
Curve	Ker	
Custom	Guai ju, Fo su	C L W
Cut with scissors	Ger	
Cut with knife	Ser	

D

Dance	Tiao ba	
Dangerous	Wai Shieh	C L W
Dare	Ga	C L W
Daughter	Nuer (ni)	
Daughter-in-law	Dser ver (ni)	
Dawn	Mer ber	
Day	(a) Ni, Shier	
Day after to-morrow	A dser ni	
Day and night	A Ni a Yao	
Day before	Do ni	
Day-time	Nieh do	
Deaf	Gur	
Dear (expensive) (big price)	Ger dao	
Death	Shi ho	
Deceive	Sa da	C L W
Decide	Jer	
Deep	Ser	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

192

Deer	Ma lu (a der)	C L W
Dense	Bo	
Depute	Pai	C L W
Desire	Yuai Yi	C L W
Dew	Zao Shuee	
Different	Tsa	C L W
Difficult	La	
Dig	Wa	C L W
Dirty	La ta	
Discuss	Sa i	C L W
Disease	Ber (a yo)	
Distant from	Ger	
Disturb	Lo	
Ditch	Kao (a dsur) Ger Lai	
Divinity	Ser (a ni, a juuee)	
Divorce	So da bao	
Do	Dser	
Do as you please	Sweh bieh	C L W
Doctor	Yo Ser (ni)	
Dog	Kwa (a der)	
Donkey	To lo mer (a der)	
Double	Shua	C L W
Doubt	Ni Hu	
Down	To	
Drag	Kai	
Dragon	Lur (a der)	
Draw, to	Hua	C L W
Dream	Mo (a duai)	
Drink	Ur	
Drown	Ver	
Drum	Gu (a jer)	C L W
Drunk	Juee	
Dry	Ga	C L W
Duck	A (a der)	
Dumb	Ya	C L W
Dust	Shu lai	
Dwell	Ger	
Dye	Zai	
Dyke	Ji dser (a dsur)	
Dysentery	Da ni	

E

Each	Gao	
Ear	Liu do (a lai)	
Early	Ju	
Earth	Ji	
East	Der	
Easy	Yo i	C L W
Eat	Yu	
Eaves	Ju bai	
Echo	Yu so	
Edge	Bi (a jueh)	
Eel	Ver yo (a der)	
Egg	Sai (a kuai)	
Eggplant	Chi dser (a ao)	
Eight	Bia	
Eighteen	Dser bia	
Eighty	Bia dser	
Elbow	So guai dser (a kuai)	
Elder (an)	So lao (ni)	
Elephant	Shio (a der)	
Eleven	Dser yi	
Embrace	Bu	
Embroidery	Shiu huor yi	
Empire (under heaven)	Hai er	
Employ	Gu	
Empty	Jier, kur	
End	Tu, Bao	
Endure	So	
Enemy	Tso (a ni)	C L W
Engage	Kao	
Enjoy	Shia	
Enlist (in army)	Da biu	C L W
Enough	Go, lu	
Enter	Bai ni	
Entire	Yi so	
Entreat	Chio	
Escape	Mu, ta	
Eternal	Yo	
Eucalyptus	Ya tsao guor (a dso)	C L W
Evening (night)	Bai ger (a)	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

Everywhere	Pieh	
Evidence	Piu juee	C L W
Exactly	Jia hao	
Example	Bi fo, Bi yui	C L W
Exchange	Mo	
Exhort	Chueh	C L W
Exorcise (send gho[illegible])	So gur, sur kuai (for disease)	
Expand	Guor dao	
Expect	Shi wa	C L W
Expensive	Ger dao	
Explain	Chia	
Extra	Liu wei	C L W
Eye	Wai ker shi (a ao)	
Eyes	Wai ser	
Eyebrows	Wai mai	

F

Face	Ju wai tso (a tso)	
Fade (' lose colour ')	Diao ser	C L W
Fail	Dor	
Faint	Huai	
Fairy	Sai ni	
Fall (of rain, etc.)	O	
Fall over	Ba	
Fall in, down	Lua	
False	Jia	C L W
Family	(a) Hao	
Fan	Sai (a ba)	
Far	Duai	
Farm	Dsua jia hao	
Farmer	Dser dsua jia ni	
Fat	Pa	
Fat (animals)	Go	
Father	Di (ni)	
Father-in-law (woman speaking)	Yao fer (ni)	
Father-in-law (man speaking)	Dao so bo (ni)	
Favourable (as of wind)	Sur	
Fear	Ger	
Feed to (animals)	Wai	
Feel	Jiao	C L W

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Fence	Mi bo (a yao)	
Female	Nuer (ni)	
Ferry	Du	
Fever	Huai	
Few	Shio	
Field	Hai ji (a jieh)	
Fierce	Ao	
Fifteen	Dser ngur	
Fifty	Ngur dser	
Fig	Ver hua guor (a ao)	
Fight	Der dsa	
Filial	Shiu	
Find	Yi	
Fine (not weather)	Mo	
Fine, to	Fer	
Finger	So dser (a ta)	
Finish	Wor	C L W
Fir	Shio (a dso)	
Fire, to (gun)	Dser	
Fire	Huai	
Firewood	Shi	
First	Chieh	C L W
Fish.	Ngur (a der)	
Fish with cormorants, to	Mia gao	
Fishing line	Hur (a niu)	
Fit	Hao ser, Jia hao	
Flea	Tio shor (a der)	
Float	Ber	
Floor	Go mer	
Flour	Mi	
Flow	Ger	
Flower	Hor (a dso)	
Flowerpot	Hor ba (a lai)	
Fly, a	So (a der)	
Fly, to	Fer	
Fog	Wu	C L W
Fold (' times ')	Bai	
Follow	Ger dsao	
Food (' rice ')	Her ser	
Fool	Ha lu lu (ni)	

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MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

192

Foot (measure)	(a) Tser	
Foot	Go	
For (instead of)	Chi	
Foreign	Ya	C L W
Forenoon (' top half day ')	Do ba ni	
Forest (' trees ')	Dso ya	
Forget	Pai mu	
Forgive	Zao	C L W
Formerly	Do mo	
Fortune teller	Sua mier ni	C L W
Forty	Shi	
Four	Shi	
Fourteen	Dser shi	
Fox	Hu ni (a der)	C L W
Fragments	Shueh	
Freeze	Du	
Friend	Po yo (ni)	
Frog	O mer (a der)	
From	Yo, da	
From time to time	Ma lo ma lo	
Front, in	Do mo	
Frost	So	
Fruit	Guor dser	C L W
Fry	Dsa	
Full	Ma	
Funeral	So so (a ba)	
Fur	Ma	
Furniture	Jia hor	C L W
Future	Jia lai	C L W

G

Gain	Yu
Gamble	Da ber, Cho bia
Garden, flower	Hor la (a lai)
Garden, kitchen	Shua (a kuai)
Gate	Mai (a sai)
Gather	So
Generation, a	(a) Dai
Gentian	Pao dsa huor (a dor)

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Geomancer (see god man)	A ser ni	
Ghost	Gur (ader)	
Ginger	Go	
Girl	Nu la dser (ni)	
Give	Gu	
Go	Bai, Chur, Nger	
God (Christian)	Sa di	C L W
God (pagan)	Ser (ni) (a juee)	
Gold	Jieh	
Gong	Lao (a mi)	
Good	Hu	
Good (moral)	Chio	
Goods	Hor	C L W
Goose	O (a der)	
Goose, wild (' sky goose ')	Hai o (a der)	
Gorge	Go (a dsur)	
Government	Dso fu	C L W
Gradually	Lu su	
Grain (rice)	Ser	
Granary	Tsa fa	
Grand-daughter (and grandniece)	Nuer sua (ni)	
Grandfather, paternal	A lo (ni)	
Grandfather, maternal	A gu (ni)	
Grandmother, paternal	A lai (ni)	
Grandmother, maternal	A pao (ni)	
Grandson (and grandnephew)	Sua (ni)	
Grapes	Pu tao (a ao)	C L W
Grass	Chu	
Grave	Mo (a kao)	
Grave-picnic (up-to-graves)	Dso mu	
Green	Lur	
Green of leaves	Cher	
Grey	Hueh	C L W
Grind	Mao, Wai	
Grindstone	Mao dso (a lai)	
Grit (gravel)	Ao	
Grow	Guor dser (of crops)	
Guard	So	
Guess	Tsai	C L W
Guest	Ker (ni)	C L W

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

Guide	Dso	
Gun	Tsur (a ger)	
Gun powder	Huai yu	
Guts	Dso (a niu)	

H

Hail	Shueh kor dser	
Hair (animal)	Ma (a dso)	
Hair (of head)	Do ma (a dso)	
Half	(a) Bao	
Hand	So (a pu)	
Hang	Gua	CLW
Happy	Shi hua	CLW
Hard	Ngur	
Hare	Tao lao (a der)	
Hat	Shao mao (a do)	
Have, to	Dso	
Hawk	Di lu lu (a der)	
He	Bao	
Head	Do Ba	
Headman	Lao bai ni	
Heal	Yi	CLW
Hear	Chur do	
Heart	Shi (a ao)	
Heat, to	Dso	
Heaven	Hai tso	
Heavy	Dser	
Heel	Ur go dser dai (a lai)	
Help	Ba ma	CLW
Hemp	Ser dser	
Here	A da	
High	Ga	
Hill	Sur (a kuai)	
Him (accusative and ablative)	Bo mo	
Hire	Kao (of men, chier)	
His	Bo lao	
Hit	Der	
Hoe, a	Dsur (a sai)	
Hole	(a) wai	
Holiday (festival)	Guor jia	

192 Hollow	Wor	
Home	(a) Hao	
Honey	Fer mi	
Hook	Gu lo (a lai)	
Hope	Shi wa	C L W
Horn	Ger (a dsa)	
Horse	Mer (a der)	
Host	Ker dso bao ni	
Hot	Ru nieh	
Hour	Dieh dsu	C L W
House	Hao (a fa)	
How	Ha lai ni	
How many	Ji shio	
Hungry	Ji ka	
Hundred	(a) Ber	
Hunt	Nier	
Hurry	Ji	
Husband	Bao (ni)	

I

I	Ngao	Cf. Cantonese
Ice	Biu	C L W ?
Idle	Shia	
If	Zer guor, Huer	C L W
Illness	Ber, nia do	
Impatient	Dsor ji	C L W
Important	Yao jiu	C L W
In	Ku, Hu, Mo	
Incense	Shio	
Indigo	La	
Infant	Tser wu la (ni)	
Influence	Ka du	C L W
Ink	Mo	C L W
Inn	Jieh (a ger)	
Insect	Dser (a der)	
Inside	Ker bao	
Inside (of clothes)	Ni dser	
Insipid	Bler	
Instead of	Chi	
Intercallary month	So wa	

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) ~~AE3 Sino-Tibetan~~
Border Peoples AE3

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MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

Interrogative particle	Ni mu	
Invite	Yao, Chier	
Iron	Tai	
Irrespective	Ver lueh. Ch. ' wu lun '	C L W
Item	(a) dser	
Ivory	Shio nger	

J

Jade	Yuee	C L W
Jetty	Ma to	C L W
Join	Nieh	
Joy	Ji, Shi hua	C L W
Joke	Sao	
Jug	Gu (a ao)	
Juice	Dsao	
Jump	Tiao	C L W
Just (preposition)	Hu, Mo	

K

Keep (animals)	So
Kill	Shia, Der shia
Kind (sort)	Lo yo
King	Wa (ni)
Kitchen	Dsao fa, Tser fa
Kite	Fo dso (a lai)
Knee	Kua dser dai (a lai)
Kneel	Gur
Knife	I da (a dser)
Know (savoir)	Zer do
Know (connaitre)	Zo do

L

Ladder	Lo ti (a ga)	C L W
Lair	Ker (a lai)	
Lake	Gao (a gao)	
Lame	Dseh go	
Lamp	Do (a dsa)	
Land	Ji ber	
Late	Mai, Pi	
Later	Bo ru	

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Laugh	Sao	
Law	Fa ni	CLW
Lazy	La dor	
Lead, to	Dso	
Lead (noun)	Chieh	CLW
Leaf	Sai (a yao)	
Leak, to	Ur	
Lean upon	Kao	CLW
Learn	Ur	
Lease	Kao	CLW
Leather	Gu	
Leave behind	Nio	
Left (opp. of right)	Dser	
Leg	Go pu	
Lemon	Shia yueh (a ao)	CLW ?
Leopard	Ba (a der)	
Leper	Da fer ni	
Leprosy	Da fer	
Level	Ber	
Li, a	(a) Lai	
Lid	Po (a lai)	
Lie, to tell a	Ber do	
Life	Mier dser	CLW
Light	Nia	
Light (weight)	Tser	
Lightning	Ji gur la	
Like	Shuai	
Lime	Huai	
Link, a	Ko (a)	
Listen	Chier	
Little	Sai	Cf. Cantonese
Live	Her	
Lizard (two kinds)	Bi hu, Di gu lai (a der)	
Load, a (beast	(a) Dso	
Load, a (man)	(a) Da	
Load, to	Dso	
Lock	Sor (a ger)	CLW
Locked up	Ler ku hu	
Locust	Sa la gai (a der)	
Long	Dso	

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MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

Loose	Su	
Loquat	Pi pa guor (a ao)	CLW
Lord	Dso (ni)	
Lose (money)	Tier	CLW
Lose	Tser, Su	
Lotus	Lai Hor (a dor)	
Love	Ai	CLW
Low	Bi	
Lower (not comparative)	Er	
Luck	Yueh Chi	CLW
Luggage	Shiu ni	CLW
Lunch	nieh do	
Lungs	Fai	
	M	
Mad	Ber	
Madman	Ber ver (ni)	
Magpie	Wu jua (a der)	
Maize	Lu gu (a do) (a grain, a ao)	
Malaria	Fer piao ver	
Male	Dser (ni)	
Man	Ni ger (ni)	
Manage	Ba	CLW
Manager	Lao bai (ni)	
Many	Ji	
Market	Dao dser, Gai ser (a lai)	
Marry (of a man)	Shi ser	
Marry (of a girl)	Tser gao, Der fer nuer	
Marsh	Shieh	
Mast	Po (a ga)	
Mat	Shier (a yao)	
Match, to	Pai	
Material	Tsai niu	CLW
Me (accusative and ablative)	Ngo mo	
Measure	O	
Meat	Ger (a tiao)	
Medicine	Yo	
Meet	Hueh	
Melon	Shi gua (a ao)	CLW
Melt	Hua	CLW

192

Memory	Ji shu	
Mend	Shio	C L W
Merchant	So yi ni	
Merchants' Guild	Sa hueh	C L W
Middle	Wai shi mi	
Middleman (marriage)	Mai so ni	
Midnight	Ba yao	
Milk	Ba	
Mill	Da duai (a kao)	
Mine, a	Kai gu (a lai)	
Mine, my	Ngao lao	
Mirror	Ger (a mi)	
Mistake	Tsor	C L W
Mixed	Dsa	C L W
Modest	A bo ser	
Money	Chieh	C L W
Monkey	O shua (a der)	
Month	(a) Wa	
Month, First	Dser Wa	
Month, Second	Ser wa	
Month, Eleventh	Der wa	
Month, Twelfth	Ya wa	
Moon	Mi wa	
More	Yer fa	C L W
Morning	Chur ku, Do ba ni	
Mortgage	Ya	C L W
Moslem	Hu hui (ni)	
Mosquito	Mo dser (a der)	
Mosquito net	Tsua dsa	
Moth	Pu do wor (a der)	
Mother	Mao (ni)	
Mother-in-law (man speaking)	Yao mu	
Mother-in-law (woman speaking)	Dao so yao (ni)	
Mountain	Sur (a kuai)	
Mourning	Sho yi	
Mouth	Ju lai	
Move	Ba	C L W
Much	Yer fa	
Much less	Dser mo	
Mud	Lai	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

Mulberry	Dser so (a ao)	
Mule	Lao dser (a der)	C L W
Mushroom	Ser (a dor)	
Music	Yu yao	C L W
Must	Bi, Gai, da	C L W

N

Nail	Jier (a ao)	
Naked	Tser di diu	
Name	Mier tser	C L W
Narrow	Dser	
Near	Jieh	
Neck	Bao dser ku lai	
Needle	Dser (a lai)	
Needlework	Dser hu	
Neigh (horse noise)	Mer mer	
Nephew	Jieh (ni)	
Nest	Dso ker (a lai)	
Net	Wa (a dso)	
Never	Wa chueh	C L W
New	Shi	
News	Shiu ver	C L W
New Year	Guor dser wa	
Next	Ru	
Nickel, a	Nier bi	C L W
Niece	Nuer jieh (ni)	
Night	Bai ger (a)	
Nine	Jiu	
Nineteen	Dser jiu	
Ninety	Jiu dser	
No	Biao	
No fear	Ger niu	
Noise	Mer	
None (not have)	Dso mu	
Noon	Nieh do	
North	Ber	
Nose	Bi gua	
Not	Bo, Mu	
Now	A gu, No ta	
Number	Su mu	C L W

O

192 Oar	Dsai (a ga)	
Obey	Ser, Suai	
Obtain	Der	
Occasion	(a) Jia	
Official, an	Gua (ni)	C L W
Often	Wa jia	
Oil	Yu	
Old (things)	Gur	
Old (men)	Gu	
Old man	Gu bao (ni)	
Old woman	Gu yao (ni)	
On	Lao	
One	Yi	
Onion	Tser (a dso)	
Onto	Do ba	
Open	Ker	
Opium	Ya pieh yeh. Chinese from English	
Or	Ni, huer	
Orange	Hua guor (a ao)	C L W
Orchid	Ai la (a dor)	
Original	Ber	
Orphan	Gua dser (ni)	
Other	Bier di	C L W
Ought	Yu da, Yu gai	C L W
Ounce	(a) Lo	
Our, ours	Nia lao	
Outside	Wa	
Outside (of clothes)	Mier dser	
Overcast	Mo	
Owe	Shio	
Ox	Ngur (a der)	

P

Pack	Dso	
Pain	Ser	
Paint	Chi	C L W
Palm (hand)	So ji shi	
Palm tree	Dser fer (a dso)	
Panther	Ba (a der)	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

Paper	Dser (a dso)	
Paper images (funeral)	Dser shia	
Parrot	Yiu ger (a der)	C L W
Part	Fer	
Partition, a (wall)	Ber bier	
Passive particle	Dsor	
Pass motions	Gai so	
Past tense particle	Lao, Hu	
Patch	Bu	C L W
Path	Tu (a dsur)	
Pawn, to	Da	
Pawnshop	Da pu (a ger)	
Pay	So	
Pea	Wai do (a ao)	
Peaceful	Piu A	C L W
Peach	Da (a ao)	
Peanuts	Lao di su (a ao)	
Pear	Shu ni (a ao)	
Peel, to	Bai	
People	Miu	
Pepper	Hu jiao	C L W
Perhaps	Ku pa	C L W
Persimmon	Ta dser ba (a ao)	
Perspire	Tser nga	
Pewter	Shi	C L W
Pheasant	Yer Gai (a der)	
Phoenix	Fo (a der)	
Pick, to	Dsai	
Pick up	Dser	
Pidgeon	Ji gu (a der)	
Pig	Dai (a der)	
Pigsty	Dai hao (a ger)	
Pillar	Dso (a gua)	
Pillow	Dser der (a lai)	
Pincers	Chieh dser (a ter)	C L W
Pine tree	Ber (a dso)	
Pint	(a) So	C L W
Pipe (tobacco)	Yeh guor (a bai)	
Pit	Ku (a lai)	
Pitiful	Mi mao tso	

Pity	Lieh	C L W
Place	Ji fer (a kuai)	
Plain, a	Ber lao	
Plan	Fa dser (a lai)	C L W
Plank	Ber (a yao)	
Plant, to	Dsur	
Plant seeds	To dser	
Plate	Ba dser (a lai)	
Play	Wu cho	
Please	Chier	
Plough	Dso ji ji (a jia)	
Plough, to	Dso ji	
Plum	Ni dser (a ao)	
Plum (another kind)	Mai dser (a ao)	
Plural particles	Wa, Ya	
Pocket	Yi lu (a lai)	
Poison	Du yo	C L W
Pole	Da bi (a kao)	
Politeness	Lai	
Pompom (head-dress) (Brave flower)	Yu hor (a dor)	
Pomegranate	Sai miu (a ao)	
Pool	Jier (a lai)	
Poor	Chio	
Porter (chair)	Jio fer (ni)	
Porter (goods)	Da da (ni)	
Pot	Gu (a ao)	
Potatoes	Sai yo (a gua, a ao)	
Pottery	Gai ba	
Pour out	Chi	
Practise	Nieh shi	C L W
Present (time)	Ger	
Price	Ger	
Prickley pear	Shueh yu dsa (a ao)	
Prison	Jieh yu, Ba hao	
Private	Ser	
Probably	Da Kai	C L W
Propitiate	Jiu Shio	
Prosperous	Suai dsa, Suai Shuee	
Protect	Bao hu	C L W
Proud	Jiao ao	C L W

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

Proverb	Su hua	C L W
Provoke	Zer	
Public	Gu	
Publish	Fa mi	C L W
Pull	Ji	
Punish	Shiu	
Pure	Chier	C L W
Pursue	Jieh	
Push	Ma	
Put	So, Lai	

Q

Quake (earthquake)	Ji yo	
Quarrel	Lo	
Quarry	Ai dser	C L W
Quench	Mier	
Question	Bier	
Quick	Nger Jiu	
Quietly	Mu cher mu chi	

R

Rain	Ver shi	
Rain, to	O ver shi	
Rainbow	Go der	
Rain cloak (grass)	Bi (a sai)	
Raspberry (wild)	Hua pao (a ao)	
Rat	Ser (a der)	
Ravine	Go (a dsur)	
Raw	Her	
Reach (arrive)	Pia	
Read	Sho	
Ready	Yu bi	C L W
Reap	Ya huor	
Really	Ser dsai	C L W
Rear, to (children)	So	
Reason, a	Yueh gu	C L W
Receipt	So tiao (a dso)	C L W
Receive	So	
Reckon	Shueh	
Red	Huor	

Recapture, retake	So da	
Recur	Fer	
Relatives	Chi jier	
Release	Dser	
Remember	Ji do	C L W
Rent	Dsu chieh	C L W
Repair	Shio	C L W
Rest, to	Shia	
Retire	Tuai	C L W
Revere	Jiu	
Rhododendron	Ma bi yi (a dor)	C L W
Rice (cooked)	Her ser	
Rice (dry)	Ha gu	
Rice (growing)	Guor	
Rice (reaped)	Ser	
Rice seed	Go dser	
Rice seedlings	Ga gur	
Rice (uncooked)	Mai	
Rice (wet)	Shueefer	
Ride	Gur	
Right (correct)	Chu	
Right (side)	Bi	
Ripe	Dser	
Ring, a	So gu (a dao)	
Rise up	Dso ku, Bai ku	
River	Gur (a dsur)	
Road	Tu (a dsur)	
Rob	Chia	C L W
Robe (Chinese)	Ma gua (a ko)	
Rock, to	Wer dso wer dser	
Roll	Ga	
Roof	Hao do ba	
Room	Ta wu (a ger)	
Root	Mi (a niu)	
Rope	So (a niu)	
Rose	Mai guei (a dor)	C L W
Rot, Rotten	La	C L W
Rough (not smooth)	Ber mu	
Round	Wai	
Rub	Bo	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

Rudder	Dio	
Rule	Dso	
Rump	Ker ver	
Run	Pao	C L W
Rust	Shiu	C L W

S

Sack	Dao lu (a lai)	
Sacred	So	
Sad	Yu tso	
Saddle	A (a ker)	
Sail, a	Wor po (a lai)	
Salt	Bi	
Sand	Sao dser	
Sandal (straw)	Chu ger (a ji)	
Satisfied (food)	Bu	
Sausage	Ya tsa (a gua, a niu)	
Save	Ju	
Saw, a	Juee dser (a lai)	
Scar	Ba	
Scarecrow	Wu dsao (a der)	
Scent	Chu	
School	Shiao ta (a ger)	C L W
Scissors (a pair)	Chi da (a ber)	
Scratch	Gua	
Screw	Jueh	
Secretly	A lao	
Sedan chair	Ji (a ka)	
Seduce	La ni ger	
See	A do	
Seek	Yi	
Seize	Pu	
Self	Dso ji	C L W
Sell	Gur	
Send	Der fer	
Send off	So	
Series	(a) Ngo	
Settle	Sweh	
Seven	Chi	
Seventeen	Dser chi	

192 Seventy	Tser dser	
Sew	Dsai	
Shade	Bai yu	
Shallow	Chi	
Shame	A bo ser	
Shape	Shuai	
Sharp	Yi	
Shave	Jer	
Sheep	Yo (a der)	
Shell	Kao kao (a lai)	
Shellfish	Chiu (a ao)	
Shin	Go shiao gua (a gua)	
Ship	Yeh (a su)	
Shoe	Ngai (a ji)	
Shop	Jieh (a ger)	
Short	Tso	
Short (stature)	Bi	
Shoulder	Dao bao do (a lai)	
Shut	Ji	
Side, that	Bo bao	
Side, this	Lo bao	
Silk	Tso dser	CLW
Silkthread	Sai	
Silkworm	Dsa (a der)	
Silver	Ni	
Sin	Juee	
Sing	Tsa, Ji ker	
Sink	Lor	
Sister, elder	Ji (ni)	
Sister, younger	Nuer tai (ni)	
Sister-in-law (Elder Brother's W.)	Da sao (ni)	
Sister-in-law (Y. Brother's Wife)	Tai ver (ni)	
Sister-in-law (Wife's E. sister)	Biao jieh (ni)	
Sister-in-law (Wife's Y. sister)	Biao mai (ni)	
Sister-in-law (Husband's sister)	Gu ma (ni)	
Sit	Gur	
Six	Fer	
Sixteen	Dser fer	
Sixty	Fer dser	
Skill	Bo ser	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

Skin	Bai	
Sky	Hai tso	
Slave girl	Ya to (ni)	C L W
Sleep	Wai dua, Tser a shuee	
Sleeve	Yi shi	
Slight	Sao vai	C L W
Slip	Jueh	
Slow	Kwa dier	
Smack	Der	
Small	Sai	Cf. Cantonese
Smallpox	Ma dser	
Smoke	Yeh	
Snail	Bi shi dser (a der)	
Snake	Ker (a der)	
Snow	Shueh	
Soft	Per	
Soldier	Biu (ni)	C L W
Son	Dser (ni)	
Son-in-law	Nuer sao u	
Song	Gao (a gao)	
Sorcerer	Sai dser (ni)	
Sorrow	Ku	C L W
Soul	Ser (a ni)	
Sound	Mer	
Soup	Her	
Sour	Sua	C L W
South	La	
Sow, to	Jier	
Space	Tsa, Lao (a)	
Spark	Huai shier dser	
Speak	Shua do	
Special	Ter bier	C L W
Speech	Do	
Spend	Fai	C L W
Spider	Dao ser dao (a der)	
Spin (thread)	Der hur	
Spirit (ghost)	Gur (a der)	
Spoil	La	
Spoon	Tiao gur (a pi)	C L W
Spread	Pu	C L W

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AES Sino-Tibetan
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192

Spring (season)	Tsur	
Square	Fa	
Squirrel	Di lao ser (a der)	
Stable	Mer fa (a ger)	
Stage (journey)	(a) Dsa	
Stammer	Gua dsai	
Stand	Dso ku	
Star	Shier (a ao)	
State (country)	Gwer	
Steal	Da	
Steps	Ger ti	
Stick on	Cha	
Still (preposition)	Dsai	
Still, yet	La, Ni	
Stink	Chu	
Stirrup	Do	
Stomach	Fer ao	
Stone	Tso kuai (a ger)	
Stone (dressed)	Tso ber (a yao)	
Stone mason	Tso jiu (ni)	
Stool	Ba do (a der)	
Stop	Jier. So so	
Story	Shao suer (a chua)	CLW
Straight	Miu	
Strange	Guai	CLW
Stream	Go Shuee (a ger)	
Street	(a) Gai	CLW
Strength	Li nia	
Stretch	Jier	
Strike	Der	
String of cash	(a) Shi	
Strong	Chia	CLW
Student	Shiao so (ni)	
Stumble	Do	
Stupid	Hu tu	CLW
Sudden	Hu za	CLW
Suck	Ji	
Suffer	So jueh	
Sugar	Sao da	
Sugar cane	Ga dser (a gua)	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

Suicide	Dser sa	CLW
Summer	Nieh	
Sun	Nieh pi	
Sun, to dry in	Hao	
Sunflower	Tsao ya dser (a biu)	
Supper	Bai	
Surface	(a) Mi	
Surname	Shier	
Surround	Wai	CLW
Swallow, to	Tuai	
Swallow, a	Gai yer dser (a der)	
Sweat	Nga	
Sweep	Shu	
Sweet	Gà mi	
Sweet potato	Hua tser (a lai)	
Swell	Tser	
Swim	Ya shuee	
Swordstick	Ma ba dao (a dser)	

T

Table	Dser dser (a dso)	
Tail	Mi du (a lai)	
Take	Lai	
Take away	Dser	
Take care	Sai shi	CLW
Tame	Suai Juee	
Tangerine	Ju dser (a ao)	CLW
Taro	Bi ter (a ao) (the plant, a dai)	
Taste	Dso	
Tax	Suai	CLW
Tea	Dsao	
Tear, to	Pai	
Tear down	Dsai hu	
Tears	Wai mi shi	
Tell	Shua	
Temperament	Shier lai	
Temple	Sai (a jer)	
Temporary	Do jier	
Ten	Dser	
Ten feet	(a) Dsa	CLW

192

Ten thousand	(a) Ngur	
Tender	Niu	
Terrace	Tai dser (a lai)	C L W
Terrible	Niao bu der	C L W
Thank	Dor shier	C L W
That	Bo, Du	
That much	Biao ser	
That way	Bia lai	
Thatch	Ma	
Theirs	Ba lao	
Then	Hu	
There	Bo da	
Therefore	So yi	C L W
Thermometer	Ha tsu biao (a jia)	C L W
These	Lo dier	
They	Ba	
Thick	Gur	
Thief	Dser (a der)	
Thigh	Dao kuai	
Thin (men)	So	
Thin (things)	Bo	
Thing	Hu nger (a lai)	
Think	Shia, Mi	
Thirst	Ka	
Thirteen	Dser sa	
Thirty	Sa dser	
This	Lo	
Those	Ber dier	
Thousand	(a) Chi	
Thread	Hur (a niu)	
Three	Sa	
Throat	Gu dai ji	
Through	Tur	
Throw away	Niu	
Thrush	Hua mei (a der)	C L W
Thumb	Dao so dser do mo (a ta)	
Thunder	Hai mer	
Tibetan	Gu dsu (ni)	
Tie up	Ver ku	
Tiger	Lao do (a der)	

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MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

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Tile	Wer (a pi)	
Time	Gu fer. Dser Nger	C L W
To	Da	
To day	Ger ni	
To morrow	Mer ni	
Tobacco	Yeh	
Together	Tu. A ru	
Tone	Yu	
Tongue	Dsai lai	
Too	Tai	C L W
Tooth	Dser ba (a lai)	
Towards	Pia	
Town	Dser (a dser)	
Trade	So yi	C L W
Transgress	Fa	C L W
Transplant seedlings	Fer ji	
Tree	(a) Dso	
Trousers (a pair)	Gua yo (a yo)	
True	Dser	
Truly	Ser dsai	C L W
Trust	Kao	C L W
Try	Ga ser	
Tub	Ba (a Bai)	
Turn	Jueh	
Twelve	Dser lai	
Twenty	Lai shi	
Twice	Go jia	
Two	Go	

U

Ugly	A bo chio, La a	
Umbrella	Sa (a ba)	C L W
Uncertain	Bu du	C L W
Uncle (paternal, elder)	Da di (ni)	
Uncle (paternal, younger)	A yeh (ni)	
Uncle (maternal)	A jiu (ni)	
Uncle (aunt's husband)	Gu dieh (ni)	
Underneath	Er bao	
Understand	Zer do	
Undress	Luai	

Unfortunate	Gao shi	
Universal	Pu tu	C L W
Unload	So	
Unlucky	Yueh chi hai	
Until	Pia	
Unto	Pia	
Up	Ku	
Upper floor	Lo (a ger)	C L W
Upwards	Dso	
Us	Nia mo	
Use	Zer	

V

Vaccinate	Dser niu do	
Valley	Go (a dsur)	
Vegetables	Her pa, Tso	
Vermicelli (mien)	Mieh	C L W
Very	Hur, Fai	
Village	Yu (a yu)	
Village levy	Dsua diu	
Virgin	Tu (ni)	
Voice	Cher chi	
Vomit	Tser	

W

Waist	Yi gua	
Wait	Do	
Wake	Shi shur	
Walk	Bai	
Wall	O pier (a pier)	
Wall, city	Dser O	
Walnut	Ao dao (a ao)	
Want	Niu	
Warm	Wai wo	
Warn	Jiu	
Wasp	Fer (a der)	
Wash	Sai	
Watch, a	Piao (a jia)	C L W
Watch, the	Der lao	
Water	Shuee	

MIN CHIA VOCABULARY

Water, to	Wa shuee	
Water chestnuts	Ga gu (a ba) (a ao)	
Wave, a	Lu gua (a lai)	
Wax	La	
We	Nia	
Wealthy	Dso chieh	
Wear (on head)	Do	
Wear (clothes)	Yeh	
Weary	Sao ku	
Weasel	Ser lao (a der)	
Weather	Hai ji	
Weave	Dso	
Weed	Ku, Ma chu	
Week	(a) Shiu Chi	C L W
Weigh	Chueh	
Well, a	Jier (a ko)	
West	Sai	Cf. Cantonese
Wet	Per	
What	Ha lai, Ha ya	
Wheat	Mo (a ao)	
Wheel	Luai dser (a bai)	C L W
When	Ha ta	
Where	A la	
Which	A la lai	
White	Ber	
Who	A la ni, Ha ni	
Why	Wei Ha lai	
Widow	Guer ver mao (ni)	
Widower	Guer lao ber (ni)	
Wife	Shi ver (ni)	
Wild	Yer	
Wild-cat	Yer A mi (a der)	
Wild-duck	Hua ya (a der)	
Wilderness	Shia ji	
Willing	Shi hua	C L W
Willow	So ur (a dso)	
Wind	Bi ser	
Window	Tsao hu (a du)	
Wine	Dser	
Wing	Yeh tser ker (a lai)	

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

/

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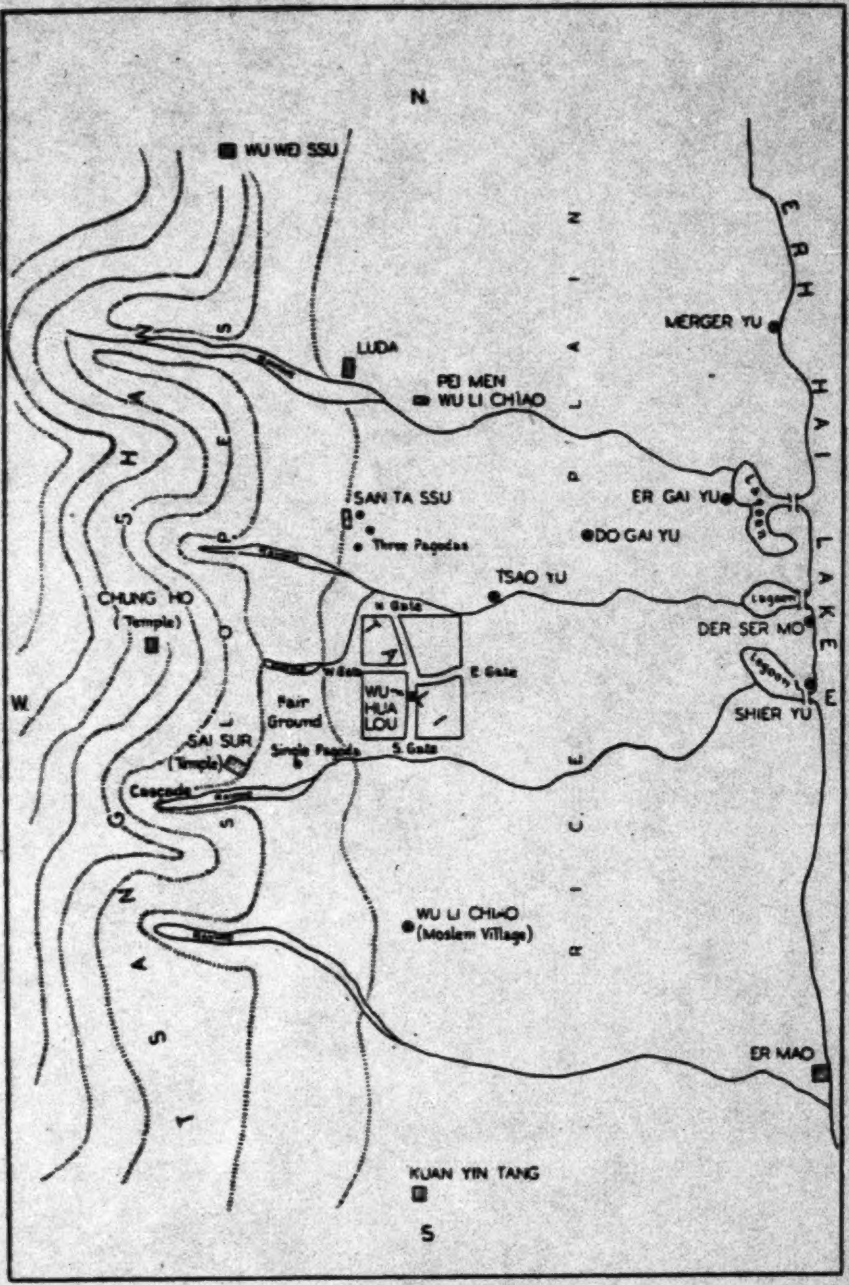
Environs of TA LI CITY


N.
WU WEI SSU
LUDA
PEI MEN
WU LI CHIAO
SAN TA SSU
Three Pagodas
CHUNG HO
(Temple)
N Gate
W Gate
E Gate
S Gate
WU-
HUA
LOU
Fair
Ground
SAI SUR
(Temple)
Single Pagoda
Cascade
TSAO YU
DO GAI YU
ER GAI YU
MERGER YU
DER SER MO
SHIER YU
Lagoon
Lagoon
Lagoon
WU LI CHIAO
(Moslem Village)
ER MAO
KUAN YIN TANG
W.
E
S
TSANG SHAN
SLOPES
RICE PLAIN
ERH HAI LAKE

[Face p. 276]

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Winter	Der	
Wipe	Ma	C L W
With	Da, Ni	
Without	Ver	
Wolf	Tsai go (a der)	C L W
Womb	Bao	C L W
Woodcutter	Dso shi (ni)	
Wood, wooden	Ser ler (a yao)	
Work	Gu	C L W
World	Sai ger. Hai er	
Wound	Sa	
Wrap	Bao	C L W
Wrapping cloth	Bao fer (a lai)	C L W
Wrapper (for babies)	Guor bai	
Write	Wer	
Wrong	Tsor	

Y

Yawn	Chi hao	
Year	(a) Shua	
Year (of age)	Ni shua	
Yellow	Ngo	
Yes	Dsao	
Yesterday	Dser sai ni	
You (thou)	Lao	
You	La	
You (ablative, etc.)	Lo mo	
Young	Sai	
Your, yours	Lo lao	
Youth, a	Ni shua sai (ni)	
Yunnan	Yueh la	(from Chinese)

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

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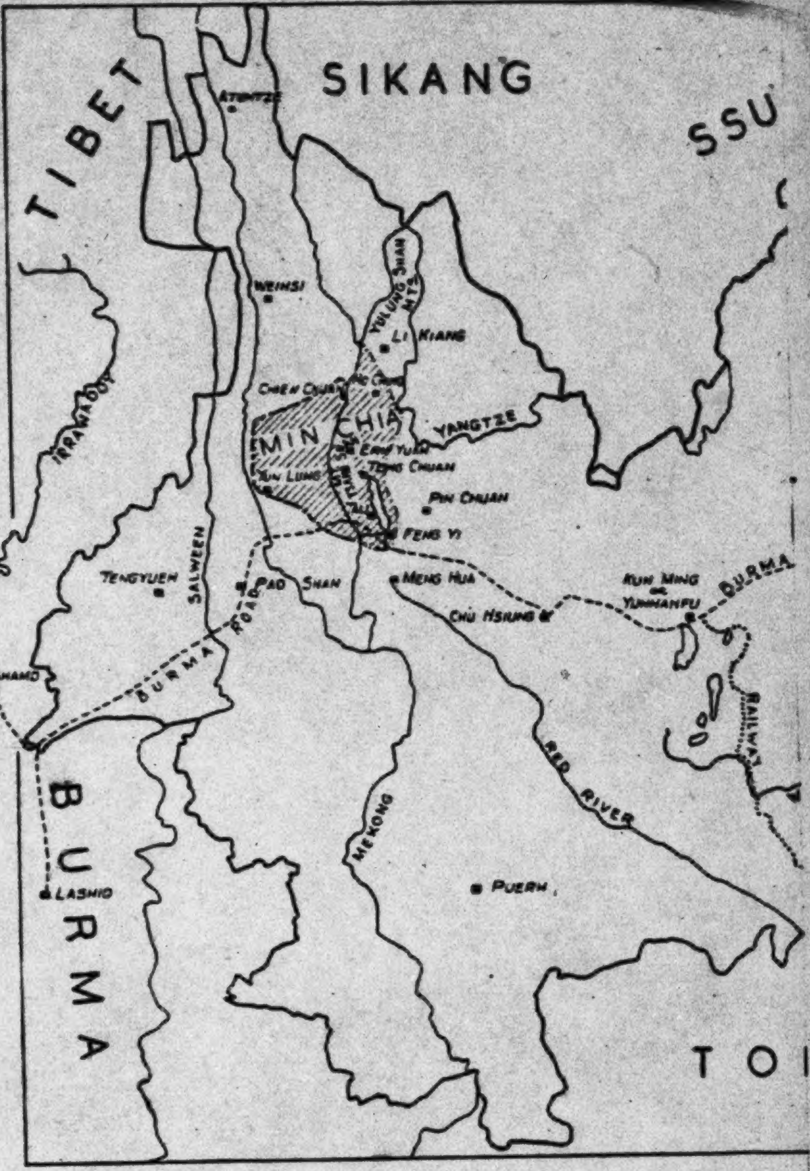
YUNNAN PROVINCE


SIKANG
TIBET
SSU
ATUNTZE
WEINSI
YULUNG SHAN MTS
LI KIANG
CHEN CHUAN
HO CHING
MIN CHIA
YANGTZE
ERH YUAN
TENG CHUAN
YUN LUNG
PIN CHUAN
FENG YI
IRRAWADDY
SALWEEN
TENGYUEH
PAO SHAN
MENG HUA
CHU HSIUNG
KUN MING
or
YUNNANFU
BURMA
BURMA ROAD
BHAMO
BURMA
LASHIO
RAILWAY
RED RIVER
MEKONG
PUERH
TO

[Insert between pp. 276-277(A)]

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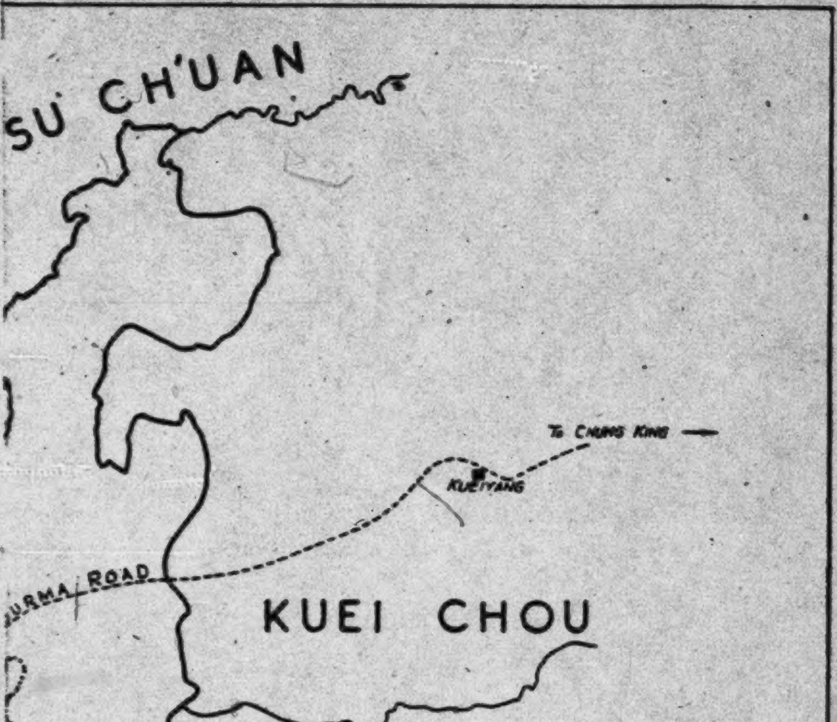
SU CH'UAN
To CHUNG KING
KUEIYANG
URMA ROAD
KUEI CHOU
RAILWAY
WEST RIVER
KUANG SI
ONGKING

[Insert between pp. 276-277 (B)]

TA LI District and ERH HAI Lake

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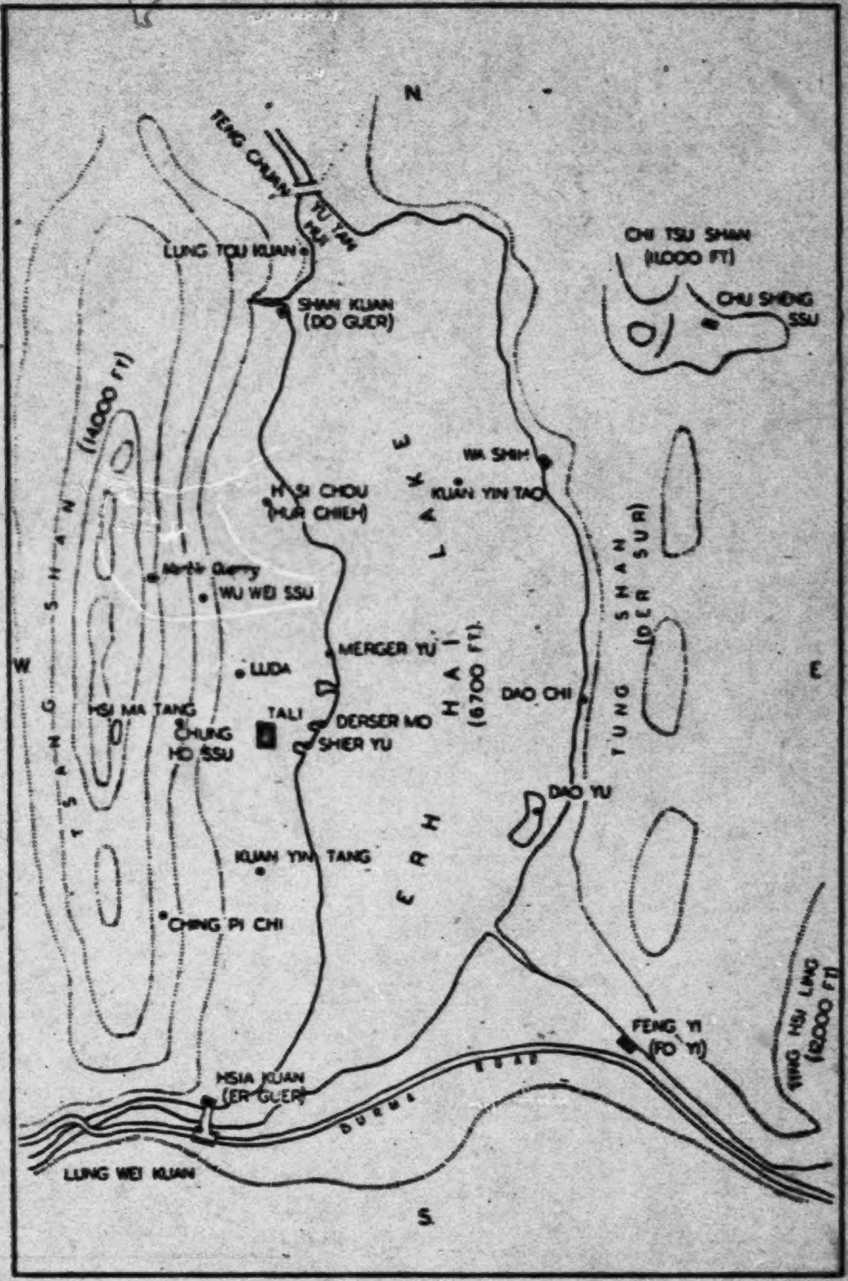
N
TENG CHUAN
YU TAN PAS
LUNG TOU KUAN
SHAN KUAN
(DO GUER)
CHI TSU SHAN
(11,000 FT)
CHU SHENG
SSU
(14000 FT)
TSANG SHAN
WA SHIH
KUAN YIN TAO
HSI CHOU
(HUR CHIEH)
LAKE
North Quarry
WU WEI SSU
MERGER YU
LUDA
W
E
ERH HAI
(6700 FT)
TUNG SHAN
(DER SUR)
DAO CHI
HSI MA TANG
CHUNG
HO SSU
TALI
DERSER MO
SHER YU
DAO YU
KUAN YIN TANG
CHING PI CHI
TING HSI LING
(10000 FT)
FENG YI
(FO YI)
HSIA KUAN
(ER GUER)
BURMA ROAD
LUNG WEI KUAN
S.

[Insert between pp. 276-277 (c)]

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